

The Canadian Historical Review

NEW SERIES
OF

THE REVIEW OF HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS
RELATING TO CANADA

(FOUNDED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO IN 1896)

VOLUME XXVIII

1947

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS
TORONTO, CANADA

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ON SPEAKING THE TRUTH

By

Sir Richard Livingstone

PRESIDENT OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD

PREFACE BY PRESIDENT SIDNEY SMITH

THE SIR ROBERT FALCONER LECTURESHIP was established in 1938 to commemorate the interest of my distinguished predecessor in the promotion of an intelligent understanding of world affairs by young Canadians. The high standards for the Lectureship that had been set by eminent holders of it were, indeed, maintained in 1945 by the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University and the President of Corpus Christi College, Sir Richard Livingstone. His lecture, "On Speaking the Truth," with a felicity of expression and a cogency of content, is related to the predominant task of securing the blood-bought peace.

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The Canadian Historical Review

VOL. XXVIII

TORONTO, MARCH, 1947

No. 1

THE NAVAL POLICY OF SIR ROBERT BORDEN, 1912-14

AT the Colonial and Imperial Conferences in and after 1887, the question of distributing a part of the burden of imperial naval defence among the dependencies of the British Empire had been repeatedly considered. Prior to the year 1909, however, the Dominion of Canada had never undertaken either to contribute toward the cost of the Royal Navy or to provide a naval force of its own. Meanwhile, beginning in 1898, the young and ambitious German Empire, whose external policy and diplomatic methods aroused anxiety in many non-German breasts, had been forging a naval weapon of formidable size and apparently first-rate quality. In Great Britain this seeming menace on the other side of the North Sea aroused uneasiness or alarm. The result was an intense competition between the two countries in naval construction, particularly in the field of capital ships.

On March 16, 1909, when the naval estimates for the ensuing year were introduced in the British House of Commons, the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Leader of the Opposition, and the Prime Minister, all sounded a serious note of alarm. Their statements made in support of the very large estimates before the House, were heard across the seas. Six days later a cablegram arrived in London from the government of New Zealand, offering to contribute to the Royal Navy one or if necessary two battleships of the latest type; and similar offers were later received from New South Wales, Victoria, and the Federated Malay States.

In the House of Commons in Ottawa on March 29 of the same year, the Honourable George Foster, one of the most prominent Conservatives in public life, introduced a resolution to the effect that Canada should assume "her proper share of the responsibility and financial burden incident to the suitable protection of her exposed coast line and great seaports," and a resolution in the same sense offered by Sir Wilfrid Laurier was passed unanimously.

In the spring of 1910 the Government introduced a bill to establish a small Canadian Naval Service. During the debates on this bill much Conservative opposition was expressed. On its third reading, however, the Naval Service Bill was passed by 111 to 70, and became law on May 4, 1910. A small Naval Service was thereupon created, and two old cruisers were bought from the Admiralty for training purposes. It was intended also to build four cruisers and six destroyers of modern types.

The Reciprocity election of September, 1911 brought the Conservatives to power with a majority of 133 to 86 over their Liberal opponents, and Robert Laird Borden became prime minister. Naval policy had played a very small part in the campaign, except in Quebec. The Conservative opposition had strongly criticized the Naval Service Bill in detail; but apart from this the new Government had not committed itself to a naval policy, nor did it do so until more than a year after having come to office. In the meantime it cancelled the tenders for building the projected cruisers and destroyers; but the Naval Service Act was not repealed, and the small organization to which that Act had given birth continued a precarious existence.

During the debate of 1909 on the Foster Resolution, Borden had favoured the establishment of a Canadian navy. He had opposed a policy of contributions, adding, however, that if a serious emergency arose some sort of contribution would be necessary. In the course of the debate on the Naval Service Bill he had confirmed his previous position, with the important qualification that he had come to feel that a threatening emergency was near at hand, on account of which he advocated a contribution in kind or in cash. In the absence of conclusive evidence it can only be assumed that what he had seen and heard during a visit to England the previous summer, together with the arguments and influence of those within his party who favoured a contribution, had brought about this change of emphasis in Borden's mind.

Among his papers there is a memorandum summarizing his naval policy in the fall of 1910. It was drawn up by someone else, but Borden's secretary minuted that "I submitted it to him and he said it was correct." According to this summary Borden considered that British naval supremacy was threatened and might in the near future be overthrown. Consequently an immediate cash contribution from Canada, sufficient to add two dreadnoughts to the Royal Navy, was needed. After the immediate emergency had been provided for in this way, Canada's

future course of action should be carefully considered. A Canadian navy could not be made effective in less than ten or fifteen years. Before embarking upon a permanent policy the people of Canada should be consulted, and only if the verdict were favourable should the development of a Canadian navy be proceeded with. The naval force proposed by the Government was inadequate for effective defence. For purely naval reasons a Canadian navy should immediately and automatically become part of the Royal Navy on the outbreak of war.¹

Speaking in the House of Commons on November 17, 1910, Borden advanced the opinion that: "When Canada, with the other great Dominions within the empire, embarks upon a policy of permanent co-operation in the naval defence of the empire, it ought, from every constitutional standpoint, from every reasonable standpoint as well, to have some voice as to the issues of peace and war within the empire."² The idea that co-operation in imperial naval defence ought to carry with it the right to an effective voice in determining the foreign policy of the Empire, was to occupy a prominent place in Borden's mind for a long time thereafter.

It was in the mid-winter of 1911-12 that the steps were taken which led to Borden's direct relations with Mr. Winston Churchill, who was then the First Lord of the Admiralty in the Asquith Government. It happened that Richard McBride, Premier of British Columbia, had for many years been a friend of Mr. Churchill's. On January 31, 1912, McBride wrote to the Honourable J. D. Hazen, Minister of Marine and Fisheries and of the Naval Service, enclosing an extract of a letter from Mr. Churchill which he had received. The First Lord offered his own help and that of the Admiralty in connexion with the naval policy of the Canadian Government: "They can consult the Admiralty in perfect confidence that we will do all in our power to make their naval policy a brilliant success; and will not be hidebound or shrink from new departures provided that whatever moneys they think fit to employ shall be well spent according to the true principles by which sea power is maintained." McBride suggested

¹Memorandum enclosed in Sir Herbert Ames to A. E. Blount, Sept. 27, 1910, Borden Papers, Annex to Memoir Notes no. 3. Warm thanks are herewith expressed to Henry Borden, Esq., K.C., for generous permission to examine the Borden Papers, and to publish material obtained from them and extracts from the *Borden Memoirs*; and also to the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, M.P., for his cordial consent to the use made in this article of material taken from his unofficial correspondence with Sir Robert Borden.

²*House of Commons Debates*, 1910-11, I, 34.

that Hazen should drop Mr. Churchill a line: the minister wrote to Borden instead, enclosing McBride's letter, with the extract, and suggesting that: "I think we will soon have to make up our minds as to what course we intend to pursue with regard to consulting the Admiralty, and I will not act upon Mr. McBride's suggestion to drop a line to Mr. Churchill until I have a talk with you with regard to the subject."³

Some time afterwards on his way home from a visit to England McBride saw Borden, after which the following letter was written by Borden to Mr. Churchill:

Mr. McBride spent some hours in Ottawa on his way to British Columbia, and I had the pleasure of conversing with him on some matters which he had discussed with you while in England. He conveyed to me your message which I greatly appreciate and for which I thank you.

It is practically arranged that Mr. Hazen and I with one or two other members of the Government will sail for England about the 26th or 28th of June, arriving in London early in July. There are several questions which we shall find it necessary to discuss with the members of the Imperial Government; and not the least important is the naval question which I hope to take up with you immediately after our arrival.⁴

It seems clear that pending the projected visit to Great Britain, the Government made no decision even of a tentative nature regarding naval policy. Borden stated in his *Memoirs* that: "So far as I remember there was no advance discussion on policy, as that was postponed until after my colleagues had been made acquainted with the results of our visit."⁵ Nor is there in the documents which bear on the discussions in England any indication that such a decision had been previously made. The lines of policy more or less definitely laid down prior to the journey to London seem to have included only the scrapping of the Naval Service, at least in the form in which it then existed, and the need for some form of Canadian participation in imperial foreign policy as a prerequisite to co-operation in the naval defence of the Empire.

A few weeks before sailing Borden asked for advice from Sir James Whitney, the Conservative Premier of Ontario: "I would like to have from you as soon as convenient any suggestions which you might be good enough to give me as to our course upon the Naval question. We expect to leave for England about the end of this month. Two questions will arise, first as to the necessity

³Borden Papers, O.C. no. 656, Hazen to Borden, Feb. 6, 1912, with enclosures.

⁴*Ibid.*, Borden to Churchill, May 30, 1912.

⁵Henry Borden (ed.), *Robert Laird Borden: His Memoirs* (Toronto, 1938), I, 355.

or expediency of an effective contribution for the temporary purpose of meeting conditions which undoubtedly confront the Mother Country at the present time, secondly the larger and even more important question of co-operation on a permanent basis."⁶ Whitney replied that: "I am in favour of placing at the disposal of the Imperial Authorities a sum of money sufficient to build two battleships or armoured cruisers of the Dreadnought type to be known as Canadian battleships, but to be absolutely under the control and management of the Admiralty subject to any conditions that may be deemed reasonable." A permanent policy, in Whitney's view, was a large problem which would involve the whole question of intra-imperial relations and responsibilities; and the views of the other Dominions would have to be ascertained and considered before a decision could properly be made.⁷ At this time also, from other sources, Borden received similar suggestions and he may have been given advice in different or contrary terms as well.

The Prime Minister sailed for England on June 26, 1912. Three of his colleagues went with him—Hazen, C. J. Doherty, the Minister of Justice, and the Postmaster General, L. P. Pelletier. Admiral Kingsmill and Sir Joseph Pope accompanied Borden and his ministers as expert advisers. The party landed on July 4, and went on to London. They found, as members of missions have often done, that physical stamina was almost as important as statesmanship: "The strain of official duties, as well as the more tremendous strain of social functions, was greater than I had hitherto experienced. Our responsibilities with regard to co-operation in Empire defence weighed heavily upon us."⁸ On his first day in London, Borden opened discussions with Mr. Churchill, and immediately afterwards went to Spithead to see the fleet, where he met the First Lord again, and Asquith, the Prime Minister.

On July 11, Borden and his ministers attended a meeting of the Committee of Imperial Defence at which Asquith presided. Sir Edward Grey talked briefly on foreign policy. Mr. Churchill spoke at much greater length, stopping occasionally to answer a question. He said that the principal feature of the naval situation was the growth of the German navy—a problem which was complicated, however, by the expansion of other navies. The

⁶Borden Papers, O.C. no. 656, Borden to Whitney, June 1, 1912.

⁷*Ibid.*, no. 654, memorandum enclosed in Whitney to Borden, June 14, 1912.

⁸*Borden Memoirs*, I, 356.

German navy was always kept concentrated, and with an unprecedentedly high proportion of ships in full commission, the structural details of which suggested that they had been constructed expressly for offensive action in or near the North Sea. As both Austria-Hungary and Italy were building dreadnoughts, the Royal Navy would need, by the year 1915, to have eight ships of that type in the Mediterranean. This would leave a deficiency of three or four dreadnoughts in home waters. "It comes to this, that really we ought to lay down now three more ships over and above the four we are building." The considerable financial inconvenience of laying down these extra ships could be got over; the real difficulty was that the existing year-by-year programme corresponded to that of the Germans. The sudden laying down by Great Britain of three extra dreadnoughts might stimulate naval competition, and would cause the Germans to ask what new fact existed to justify the building of these additional ships: "If we could say that the new fact was that Canada had decided to take part in the defence of the British Empire, that would be an answer which would involve no invidious comparisons, and which would absolve us from going into detailed calculations as to the number of Austrian and German vessels available at any particular moment." Such a decision on Canada's part, Mr. Churchill continued, could not offend any power, and nothing could possibly contribute more effectively to the prestige and security of the British Empire. "The need, I say, is a serious one, and it is an immediate need." He hoped that during the visit of the Canadian ministers there would be long consultations on the details of a permanent naval policy. What he had been talking about was not a permanent policy, which would require careful and unhurried consideration. "But the other need is urgent, and if it is the intention of Canada to render assistance to the naval forces of the British Empire, now is the time when that aid would be most welcome and most timely." When Mr. Churchill had finished, Borden said that he and his colleagues would welcome an opportunity to talk the matter over with him and his officials, and the First Lord replied that he would make all the necessary arrangements. Asquith suggested that after these consultations should have taken place a second meeting of the Committee of Imperial Defence should be held, and Borden said that he would be glad to attend such a meeting.⁹

⁹Borden Papers, O.C. no. 643, Committee of Imperial Defence, *Minutes of 118th Meeting, July 11, 1912.*

On July 13, the Canadian ministers conferred with Mr. Churchill and other Admiralty officials. Three days later Borden had a private interview with the First Lord: "... our conversation was very frank and intimate. Mr. Churchill was fair and reasonable and was entirely disposed to give us assurance in writing as to the peril which seemed everywhere to be apprehended in Great Britain and as to the necessity for strong co-operation in naval defence by the Dominions. He spoke of coming to Canada with the Prime Minister."¹⁰ On July 19, the First Lord consulted Borden regarding the speech with which he was to introduce in the House of Commons, three days later, supplementary naval estimates to meet the provisions of the latest German navy law. The First Lord's speech on that occasion was the first public statement on the conferences between the Canadian ministers and British officials. He assured the House that Borden and his colleagues had been placed in possession of all the facts, "... and we have discussed, with the utmost freedom and confidence, the action which should be taken and the way of surmounting the difficulties which obstruct such action." Mr. Churchill said that a clear distinction had been made between the needs of the immediate future and the elaboration of a permanent long-term naval policy, the latter requiring further consideration. He added that the Canadian representatives had authorized him to say that they shared this view and that any special action which the immediate future might require would not be delayed pending the settlement of a permanent naval arrangement: "They wish that the aid of Canada shall be an addition to the existing British programme, and that any step which Canada may take may directly strengthen the naval forces of the Empire and the margin available for its security. And they tell me that the action of the Dominion will not be unworthy of the dignity and power of Canada." Finally he said that the Canadian Government's decision would be announced after the Canadian ministers had returned to Canada and laid before their colleagues the results of their conferences in London. Later in the debate Asquith acknowledged the co-operativeness of Borden and his colleagues, and stated that it was the duty of the British Government to respond as far as possible to their obviously reasonable request for a voice in determining policy. Arrangements of that sort could not be made in a day, and he could not say what machinery

¹⁰*Borden Memoirs*, I, 359.

might be used; but a conscious partnership was desired. Borden was present in the gallery during these speeches.¹¹

The following week Borden had discussions with Asquith, Grey, Harcourt, and Walter Long, on various topics including the means of according to the Dominion a voice in determining imperial foreign policy. He left for Paris on July 27, and while there he wrote to the Governor-General a letter which is probably an inclusive summary of the discussions up to that time:

The conferences with the Home Government have on the whole proceeded satisfactorily. A great deal of discussion has been upon the very difficult question of representation. It may be that one of our Ministers without portfolio will become a member of the Imperial Defence Committee and will live in London part of the year in close touch with the Foreign office and with the Colonial Secretary. This of course would only be a temporary expedient until a more carefully prepared system of Empire organization could be discussed after consultation with all the Dominions. In the matter of cooperation in defence by active aid we have sharply distinguished between present grave conditions demanding temporary assistance and permanent policy. We have been promised a statement which will present "an unanswerable case" as to immediate temporary assistance. . . .

We expect to sail on the 23rd or 30th August. It depends to some extent on the question of a visit by Mr. Asquith and Mr. Churchill which has been discussed to some extent. If they should come the negotiations and discussions will be completed in Canada.¹²

Borden returned from Paris in time to attend the second meeting of the Committee of Imperial Defence, to which he was accompanied by Hazen and Doherty. The principal subject of discussion was Dominion representation. It was pointed out that the Dominion delegates who had attended the 113th meeting of the Committee of Imperial Defence during the Imperial Conference of 1911, had unanimously accepted the principles that representatives of the Dominions should be invited to attend meetings of that committee whenever questions affecting them were being considered, and that a defence committee should be set up in each Dominion. Asquith's suggestion now was that either the High Commissioners should attend meetings whenever questions concerning the Dominions were discussed, or that Dominion representatives of ministerial rank should come to London from time to time in order to be present at such meetings.

Borden replied that these suggestions were good enough in themselves, but that they did not go far enough. He pointed out that Canada was growing in population and in its conception of what a national spirit demands. In the very near future, there-

¹¹*Parliamentary Debates, 5th Series, XLI, 857-8, 872.*

¹²Borden Papers, O.C. no. 656, Borden to Duke of Connaught, July 30, 1912.

fore, it would be necessary that the Dominion should have a direct and immediate say in foreign policy. Later in the meeting Doherty strongly supported this point of view. As to naval policy, Borden stated that two questions were being considered which in Canada had been kept sharply separate. The first was whether conditions currently affecting the Empire were of such a character as to justify the Canadian Government in taking some immediate and effective action. The other was the problem of a permanent policy. He was anxious that the Royal Navy should show the flag on both the Canadian coasts more often than it had been doing recently, and the First Lord replied that this could be done. Borden did not commit himself at this meeting concerning future Canadian naval policy.¹³

The discussions with the British ministers were continued a week later. On August 7:

... I had a long interview with Churchill with respect to the method and extent of our co-operation in naval defence; and I told him that everything depended upon the cogency of the statement which he would put forward as to the emergency. He promised to give the subject his closest personal attention. The discussion was renewed on the following day ... with Mr. Asquith to whom I communicated the substance of my conversation with Mr. Churchill. Asquith observed that Mr. Churchill was extremely capable and would be forceful in the preparation of such a statement as we desired.¹⁴

On August 13 Borden left London for the north, and on the following day he and his ministers inspected Vickers's ship-building yard at Barrow where they saw the battle cruiser *Princess Royal* which had just been completed there. He also visited the Elswick works at Newcastle and John Brown's at Clýdebank. The desirability of encouraging naval and other kinds of ship-building in Canada, as part of any permanent naval policy, was occupying a prominent place in Borden's mind, and the visits to these great shipyards were undoubtedly undertaken with this in view.

The First Lord had assured Borden on July 16, that the Admiralty would make an unanswerable case for an immediate emergency contribution by Canada. This case would be made in two separate memoranda, one of which could be published while the other would be secret.¹⁵ During Borden's visit to Scotland he received from the Admiralty a draft of the publishable memo-

¹³*Ibid.*, Minutes of 119th Meeting, July 31, 1912.

¹⁴*Borden Memoirs*, I, 364.

¹⁵Borden Papers, O'C. no. 656, corrected draft of Borden to Churchill, Aug. 28, 1912.

randum which seemed to him so inadequate that he sent it back to the First Lord: "In returning it, I wrote to him that if this contribution was the best we could expect it would be idle for him to anticipate any results whatever from the Government or the people of Canada."¹⁶

On August 26, Mr. Churchill sent the secret memorandum, which had been prepared from data supplied by the War Staff. Borden was asked to return it with suggestions for any changes which he might think desirable:

I wish to check it in its final form, to show it to the Prime Minister and Sir Edward Grey, and to hold a formal meeting of the Board of Admiralty upon it, so that it can be in the highest degree authoritative. I will then have it printed together with some useful appendices and will send you a dozen copies for use in your Cabinet and among confidential persons. . . .

If I could be of any use by coming over you have only to send for me and, if it rests with me, I will come at once. If there is any matter in which the Admiralty can assist you we are at your service.¹⁷

In acknowledging, on August 28, receipt of the secret memorandum, Borden wrote that: "No doubt you will deal in subsequent memoranda with the other questions raised such as the importance and value of docks and harbour fortifications from the Admiralty standpoint, the best methods of harbour and coast defence, the arming of merchant steamships, the practicability of aiding the establishment of shipbuilding in Canada by the method suggested. These matters more particularly concern the question of permanent policy which we hope to take up without much delay but which is not so pressing as the other."¹⁸ Immediately before leaving for Canada, Borden returned the draft of the secret memorandum with his suggestions noted on it, and with the comment that: "The Memorandum seems to be very thorough and covers the points which were brought up at our interviews, so far as I can recall them at the moment, except as suggested in my letter of yesterday."¹⁹

On August 29, Borden and his party started on their return journey, and on September 8 they arrived in Ottawa. Thereafter matters went forward without delay. Borden reported on his visit to Britain in a speech given in Montreal on September 21. The impression of the general naval situation which that visit had left on his mind is probably revealed in a letter which he wrote to Sir Charles Tupper on September 25:

¹⁶*Borden Memoirs*, I, 365.

¹⁷Borden Papers, O.C. no. 656, Churchill to Borden, Aug. 26, 1912.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, corrected draft of Borden to Churchill, Aug. 28, 1912.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, Borden to Churchill, Aug. 29, 1912.

We are calling Parliament about the middle of November and doubtless there will be keen debate on this great question. Undoubtedly the conditions confronting the Empire are very grave. Twelve years ago our flag was dominant on every sea and in every ocean; today in the North Sea only. The further development of existing conditions might lead to such an issue that the British Empire would in effect be manoeuvred out of existence without the firing of a gun. The action of Canada will be watched with great interest throughout Europe. Lord Northcliffe told me that our visit attracted almost as much attention from the Continental as from the British press.²⁰

About September 28, the Department of the Naval Service cabled the following enquiry to the Admiralty: "Request you will report confidentially by telegraph entire cost of latest type of Battleship and Battle Cruiser built by contract complete except sea stores." The reply was: "... approximate cost of both battleship and cruiser each £2,350,000 including armament and first outfit of ordnance stores and ammunition."²¹ A similar request for information was sent through the Governor-General about two weeks later, the reply to which included the statement that prices were rising, a fact which might cause the quoted figure to be slightly exceeded.²² On October 5, Borden requested Mr. Churchill to supply him, if possible before November 7, with specified details regarding the current and recent naval expenditures, establishments, and programmes, of certain countries.²³ It had not been possible to obtain the desired information from sources available in Canada.²⁴

Copies of the two memoranda which have been so often referred to, were forwarded, along with a letter from Mr. Churchill dated September 17. The First Lord said that he had had his Prime Minister's help in revising the publishable one, and that Borden might make any use he liked of this memorandum. Ten printed copies of the secret one were also being sent, and it was hoped that there would be no need to reprint in Canada. "The document is one which, as you will realize, might do harm to international relations if it were to leak out or to get mislaid."²⁵ Borden replied on October 1 that all the copies had arrived, and added: "The secret document which I have read very carefully

²⁰Borden Papers, "Naval Notes—Years 1912-1921," Borden to Tupper, Sept. 25, 1912.

²¹Naval Service Hdq. Records 1017-1-1 (1), Desbarats to Admiralty, n.d. (probably Sept. 28); Greene to Desbarats, Oct. 5, 1912 (cables).

²²Borden Papers, O.C. no. 657, cables of Oct. 14 and 16, 1912.

²³Argentina, Austria-Hungary, Brazil, Chile, Holland, Italy, Japan, Norway, Sweden, and Spain.

²⁴Borden Papers, "Naval Notes—Years 1912-1921," Borden to Churchill, Oct. 5, 1912.

²⁵Borden Papers, O.C. no. 656, Churchill to Borden, Sept. 17, 1912.

seems an admirable presentation of the case."²⁶ Borden lent a copy of the secret memorandum to Laurier, with permission to communicate its contents to those of his supporters who were privy councillors; and this copy the Leader of the Opposition subsequently returned. It was agreed between the authorities in Ottawa and those in London that some of the matter contained in this memorandum might be publicly used, and a series of letters and cables defined the extent of such disclosures and settled the form in which they might be made.²⁷

Shortly after the Canadian delegation had returned to Canada, Borden began discussions with his colleagues on naval policy. The two Admiralty memoranda were read in Cabinet immediately after their arrival:

The secret memorandum was most impressive but the publishable document had not been so well prepared, and it omitted the important statement that capital ships were required. Following perusal of the documents, discussion arose as to the advisability of consulting the people by plebiscite. Monk admitted that the situation was grave and emergent but was very strong in his opinion that this course should be followed and Nantel was his echo. The Ontario Ministers, as well as Hazen, Rogers, Burrell and Roche, were strongly opposed to an appeal to the people.

Although Borden was very anxious to retain him in the Cabinet, F. D. Monk, who was Minister of Public Works, had formerly taken such a definite stand on the very subject of a plebiscite that he could not give way. Borden reports that: "On October 14th, I presented to Council a draft of the Naval Aid Bill which I had previously submitted to White and to Perley. There was about an hour's discussion which resulted in unanimous approval. Monk, however, did not utter a word." Four days later Borden received Monk's resignation: the former minister said, however, that he would not oppose the Government except on the naval issue.²⁸

On November 2 the British Government was asked for an assurance that, should Parliament vote the money for a contribution, and if the time should come when Canada was prepared to maintain the contributed ships, these would be transferred to the Canadian Government. Before the assurance was given the Admiralty asked for and received a promise that if such a request

²⁶*Ibid.*, no. 657, Borden to Churchill, Oct. 1, 1912.

²⁷This secret memorandum, which has not been published, is a masterpiece of clear and graceful exposition. Most if not all of the copies which were sent to Canada are among the Borden Papers, three of them being in O.C. no. 656. The publishable memorandum is Cd. 6513 in *Parl. Paps.*, 1912-13, LIII.

²⁸*Borden Memoirs*, I, 399-400.

to transfer the ships were made, sufficient notice would be given to permit of their place being taken by new construction.²⁹ At the beginning of November also, Borden told Mr. Churchill that the Canadian Government would wish any contributed ships to receive names related to Canada, and suggested that should three battleships be provided they might be called respectively *Acadia*, *Quebec*, and *Ontario*. He also asked that the Admiralty should consider granting special opportunities for serving in such ships to Canadian cadets and seamen. The answers were that no difficulty regarding the names was anticipated; that eight cadetships annually would be placed at Canada's disposal, and opportunities afforded as far as possible to serve in the contributed ships; and that something might also be done about the more difficult question of seamen.³⁰

The idea of a generous emergency contribution of ships to the Royal Navy had won the approval of the delegates who had gone to London, of the Cabinet, and of the party leaders in general. Embodied in the Naval Aid Bill, it was now to be submitted to the wider and more final judgment of Parliament.

On December 5, 1912, the Prime Minister introduced the Naval Aid Bill³¹ in the House of Commons, and one of the longest, most implacable, and most famous debates since Confederation was under way. The bill called for the immediate expenditure of \$35 million for building in Great Britain three dreadnoughts of the latest type, which would form part of the Royal Navy. These ships would be maintained by the British Government, they would be at the disposal of the Admiralty for the common defence of the Empire, and they could later be recalled to form part of a Canadian unit of the Royal Navy.

The principal arguments advanced by the Conservatives in favour of the Naval Aid Bill were: that the position of the Royal Navy was seriously and immediately threatened; that this being so Great Britain and the Empire were entitled to strong support; that in the best naval opinion a contribution of battleships would be the most effective form of immediate support; that a direct strengthening of the Royal Navy would be the best form of defence for the coasts and waters of Canada; that a separate

²⁹Borden Papers, O.C. no. 657, Governor-General to Colonial Secretary, Nov. 2 and Nov. 7, 1912; Colonial Secretary to Governor-General, Nov. 6, 1912 (cables).

³⁰*Ibid.*, Borden to Churchill, Nov. 2, 1912; Colonial Secretary to Governor-General (cable), Nov. 15, 1912; Churchill to Borden (cable), Nov. 16, 1912; Colonial Secretary to Governor-General (cable), Nov. 20, 1912.

³¹No. 21. "A Bill to Authorize Measures for Increasing the Effective Naval Forces of the Empire."

Dominion navy could not be adequately developed in time to meet the threat; and that the proposed contribution was only a temporary policy. In attacking the bill the chief arguments of the Liberal Opposition were: that no serious or immediate threat to the naval power of Great Britain existed; that the coasts of Canada should first be protected; that a distinctively Canadian navy would not weaken the imperial tie; that Britain was wealthier than Canada; that a mere payment of money was too much like paying tribute, and would not properly express the aspirations of the Canadian people; that a contribution of warships would be inconsistent with the autonomy of the Dominion; and that before taking such a step a plebiscite ought to be held.

The bill passed its second reading on February 27, 1913, and the following day the House went into committee. Hitherto the discussion, though uncommonly prolonged, had been a normal parliamentary debate; but soon after the committee stage had been reached the Opposition resorted to the most resolute sort of obstruction, straining ingenuity and endurance to the breaking point in the interest of delay. On May 9 closure was put into force; and on May 15, by a majority of 101 to 68, the Naval Aid Bill passed its third reading.³²

In view of the long Liberal tenure of office from 1896 to 1911, it was inevitable that in the spring of 1913 the Senate should contain a large Opposition majority. The Naval Aid Bill was introduced in the Upper House on May 20 by Senator J. A. Lougheed, the Government leader. In the course of a long speech Lougheed reviewed the whole story of Canadian naval policy since 1909, and presented his arguments in support of the bill. Sir George Ross, the Liberal leader, followed Lougheed. Ross claimed that both parties had the same object and differed only as to the best means of reaching it. He said that the Naval Service Act of 1910, if properly used, would achieve all that the bill before them would do for the defence of the Empire, and much more. He suggested that the Government should withdraw the Naval Aid Bill, and that a supplementary estimate should be submitted calling for 10 or 15 millions to be devoted to the speedy construction of battleships wherever they could be built. These ships could be completed by yearly grants under the Naval Service Act, in the customary way. A separate bill was not required. Ross listed his objections to the bill, including the

³²This prolonged debate is contained in *House of Commons Debates*, Sess. 1912-13, I-V inclusive.

opinion that the three proposed dreadnoughts would be dead armour plate, "as inanimate as the dry bones that Ezekiel saw in which no breath of life existed." As might be expected, the arguments used during the Senate debate had already, in nearly all cases, seen service in the House of Commons. On May 29, by a vote of 51 to 27, the Naval Aid Bill was defeated in the Senate.³³

Sir George Ross, a former premier of Ontario, was a convinced imperialist. He had no objection to a contribution as such; but he thought that a Canadian navy would help both to nourish Canadian self-reliance and in the long run to strengthen the imperial connexion. Behind his suggested compromise lay some communications between himself and Senator Lougheed, which had started nearly a month before the bill reached the Senate. The purpose of these had been to find a give-and-take policy which might be acceptable to both sides. On April 29, 1913, Ross had written Lougheed proposing several forms of such a policy, which would combine a substantial contribution with an adequate amount to be spent on the Canadian navy and other measures of local defence. Ross, according to Lougheed, was at first very confident that he could induce the Liberal senators to support such a compromise, and Borden has stated that the Government was prepared to accept Ross's suggestions in some form. The negotiations were fruitless, however, and Lougheed's account of what happened is that Ross was not able to persuade the Liberal senators. Toward the end of 1913 Ross again broached the subject of naval policy to Lougheed, asking what the Government intended to do. He was very anxious that something substantial should be done to indicate to the imperial authorities that Canada was interested in naval defence. Lougheed replied that the Government did not wish to act in the near future. In March, 1914, Ross died.³⁴

The secret memorandum which has so often been alluded to had presented a clear and detailed picture of the apparent threat constituted by the rapidly growing German navy and the subsidiary naval forces of the Triple Alliance, and the resulting concentration of the Royal Navy in European waters. It had

³³*Debates of the Senate*, Sess. 1912-13.

³⁴This account of the Ross negotiations is based on statements and published correspondence in the *Borden Memoirs*, I, 417-25; and on a memorandum by Lougheed dated Sept. 25, 1914, Borden Papers, O.C. no. 658. See also O. D. Skelton, *Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier* (2 vols., Toronto, 1921), II, 412.

also embodied the Admiralty's answer to the question of how, in the circumstances, Canada could best help:

Whatever may be the decision of Canada at the present serious juncture, Great Britain will not in any circumstances fail in her duty to the Overseas Dominions of the Crown. She has before now successfully made head alone and unaided against the most formidable combinations and the greatest military Powers: and she has not lost her capacity, even if left wholly unsupported, of being able by a wise policy and strenuous exertions to watch over and preserve the vital interests of the Empire. The Admiralty will not hesitate if necessary to ask next year for a further substantial increase beyond anything that has at present been announced, with consequent extra additions to the burden of the British taxpayer. But the aid which Canada could give at the present time is not to be measured only in ships or money. It will have a moral value out of all proportion to the material assistance afforded. The failure of Canada at this moment, after all that has been said, to take any effective step would produce the worst impression abroad and expose us all to much derision. But any action on the part of Canada to increase the power of the Imperial Navy, and thus widen the margins of our common safety, would, on the other hand, be recognized everywhere as the proof and sign that those who may at any time be minded to menace any part of the Empire will have to contend with the united strength of the whole.

On these grounds, not less than from purely naval reasons, it is desirable that any aid given by Canada at this time should include the provision of a certain number of the largest and strongest ships of war which science can build or money supply.

From the point of view of the British Government and of the Admiralty there were several good reasons for preferring a contribution to any other form of naval assistance at that time. The contributed ships would have constituted the most quickly and certainly available form of help towards meeting a genuine threat. They would have strengthened the British Government's position in relation to the left-wing members of its own party, who were restless in the face of ever-increasing naval estimates. The Admiralty had always favoured contributions as opposed to local navies, and would no doubt have been pleased to see the principle acted upon even as a temporary measure. The point which the First Lord had made at the first meeting of the Committee of Imperial Defence which the Canadian ministers had attended, that a contribution of battleships from Canada would enable the battle fleet to receive a needed addition to its strength without muddying the diplomatic waters, must also have been an important consideration with the British Government. The principal argument advanced in the secret memorandum, however, was probably the one that weighed more heavily than any other. Although the British and German admiralities were building against each other in warships of almost every kind, the most

decisive type, and the one which the public everywhere heard about almost to the exclusion of any other, was the dreadnought. The willingly proffered addition to the Royal Navy of three of these compelling monsters would probably have achieved a moral effect which the Admiralty did not exaggerate.

Had the proposed Canadian dreadnoughts been authorized late in 1912, or in the spring of 1913, they would have been fast battleships of the *Queen Elizabeth* class. The five ships of this extraordinarily successful class which were actually built, were the *Queen Elizabeth*, *Warspite*, *Malaya*, *Barham*, and *Valiant*. The *Malaya* was a gift from the Federated Malay States. They served throughout the First World War, and four of them were present at Jutland where they stood head and shoulders above the multitude like Saul the son of Kish. All of them likewise served in the Second World War, the *Warspite* with unusual distinction.

The use which the Admiralty intended to make of the proposed Canadian battleships was made public by the First Lord. Borden had been consulted in advance, and had strongly approved of the "inspiring proposals." Mr. Churchill accordingly included the following passage in a speech in the House of Commons on March 26, 1913. He said that Canada would always retain the right to recall the ships after giving reasonable notice, and continued:

We propose to form them with the "Malaya," and if agreeable to the Dominions concerned with the "New Zealand," into a new squadron of five ships of high uniform speed, to be called the Imperial squadron, which would be based on Gibraltar, and from that station could easily reach any portion of the British Empire in a shorter time than any European force of equal power could move. From that station it would be possible for such a squadron to reach Halifax in five days, Quebec in six, Jamaica in nine, the South American coast in twelve, Cape Town in thirteen, Alexandria in three, Sydney in twenty-eight, New Zealand in thirty-two, Hong Kong in twenty-two, and Vancouver in twenty-three days, and the Channel in a very much shorter time. Our intention is that this squadron should, as opportunity offers, cruise freely about the British Empire, visiting the various Dominions, and showing itself ready to operate at any threatened point at home or abroad. The Dominions will be consulted by the Admiralty on all movements of this squadron not dominated by military considerations, and special facilities will be given to Canadians, Australians, South Africans, and New Zealanders to serve as men and officers in the squadron. In this way, a true idea will be given of a mobile Imperial squadron of the greatest strength and speed patrolling the Empire, showing the flag, and bringing really effective aid wherever it may be needed. The squadron could, of course, be strengthened from time to time by further capital ships, or by fast cruisers, if any of the Dominions thought fit.

Side by side with this the Dominions will be encouraged by the Admiralty to develop the necessary naval bases, dockyards, cruisers, local flotillas, or other

ancillary craft, which would enable the Imperial squadron to operate for a prolonged period in any particular threatened theatre to which it might be sent.³⁵

That the proposed contribution by Canada had attracted considerable attention in German official circles is attested by numerous references to it in the published records of the German Foreign Office. In August, 1912, the German Ambassador in London wrote as follows to the Chancellor in Berlin:

In addition to domestic politics, the attitude of the "Dominions" is a factor in the naval question. Using the rallying-cry "the Motherland is in peril," they wish to consolidate those huge territories which at present are united so loosely with England, and to persuade them to contribute towards building ships. Mr. Borden, the Canadian Prime Minister, has been here for weeks with various members of his Cabinet. He is accorded the honours of a great personage. He has already promised to provide ships; but he makes stipulations. Membership in the Committee of Imperial Defence, a body which has existed for some years and on which the representatives of the Dominions sit in an advisory capacity, no longer satisfies him. He wants the Dominion to have a decisive voice in the deliberations which decide peace and war. It is not certain whether an imperial Parliament or some other arrangement is contemplated. To such terms the English Government will hardly agree.³⁶

Some months later, when Borden had announced his policy in the House of Commons, the German naval attaché in London reported:

It must be assumed that Mr. Borden's bill to place three warships of the newest and largest type at the disposal of the Motherland, will be passed in the Canadian Parliament. . . . It will now have to be reckoned that the three Canadian ships, and the Malay ship, are a net addition to the programme of construction which was announced in March. . . . Assuming that the Canadian funds are made available at once, it is possible that the estimates for 1913-14 will provide for more than five new ships, so as to strengthen the fleet as quickly as possible.³⁷

A few days later Zimmermann, the Under-Secretary of State at the Wilhelmstrasse, suggested in a memorandum that: "The impending grant of three Dreadnoughts by Canada—a consequence of our latest navy law—seems to be excellent material for agitation."³⁸ After the defeat of Borden's project in the Senate, the attaché said in his next report that ". . . the British Admiralty have been deprived indefinitely of the windfall of three battleships which they had hoped for."³⁹

³⁵Borden Papers, "Naval Notes—Years 1912-1921," Colonial Secretary to Governor-General (cable), Mar. 19, 1913; *ibid.*, Governor-General to Colonial Secretary (draft cable), Mar. 22, 1913; *Parliamentary Debates*, 5th Series, L, 1762.

³⁶*Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette*, XXXI, 241, Von Marschall to Bethmann-Hollweg, Aug. 5, 1912.

³⁷*Ibid.*, XXXIX, 3, report by Capt. von Müller, Dec. 8, 1912.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 6, memorandum by Zimmermann, Dec. 14, 1912.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 39, report by von Müller, June 20, 1913.

In October, 1913, the German *chargé d'affaires* in London reported:

In Canada the Party warfare still rages over the question of whether a Canadian fleet should be built and stationed in the coast waters on the Atlantic and Pacific, or whether the fleet of the Motherland should be strengthened by means of single ships. . . . It has been noted here that Sir Wilfrid Laurier was able to argue against his opponent Borden at an election meeting, that the serious emergency which Borden had advanced as the principal reason why Canada ought to bear part of the cost of the English fleet, simply did not exist. In fact, considering the relatively small amount of new German naval construction, and the steady improvement in the relations between the two countries, it is difficult even for a Winston Churchill to persuade the colonies to believe in his fiction of a seriously threatened English world empire.⁴⁰

A month later the naval attaché wrote: "It is doubtful whether there will be any more gifts like the *Malaya*. The naval policy of the self-governing colonies tends . . . more and more in the direction of establishing small fleets for themselves. This development is a very slow one which takes place outside European waters, and in comparing England's naval strength in Europe with that of Germany it may be ignored."⁴¹

Borden had kept on resolutely in his attempt to obtain the enactment of the Naval Aid Bill, until the defeat of that measure in the Senate. To a suggestion privately made late in March, 1913, that he withdraw the bill and announce forthwith a permanent policy calling for a Canadian navy, together with the development of bases and shipyards, Borden replied that the Government could not withdraw the bill in face of "the unworthy obstruction which is being practised by the Opposition."⁴² Nor did the eventual defeat of the bill cause the Prime Minister to give up hope for the success of his project. On June 1 he asked Mr. Churchill to consider the practicability of having the three ships laid down immediately by the British Government, on the Canadian Government's assurance that before their completion it would introduce into the Dominion Parliament a bill to provide the means of paying for them. The British Government however, felt that such an arrangement "would be open to criticism in both countries as seeming to go behind the formal decision of the Canadian Parliament and that we have no right at present to assume that Senate's vote could be reversed." Both parties must

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 58, Kühlmann to Bethmann-Hollweg, Oct. 21, 1913.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 65, report by von Müller, Nov. 30, 1913. Other references to Borden's policy will be found in *Die Grosse Politik*, XXXIX, 6n., 13, 33, 34, 66, 81, 82, and 91.

⁴²Borden Papers, O'C. no. 658, V. E. Mitchell to Borden (telegram), Mar. 24, 1913, and reply (letter), same date.

feel perfectly free to deal with the future. The First Lord added that the Canadian ships would have been ready for battle in the third quarter of 1915, and that in order to maintain the battle fleet at the required strength, orders would be given to lay down the last three ships of the 1914-15 programme at once instead of in the following March as had been prescribed. This acceleration would effectively safeguard the imperial naval position for another six months, during which time further discussions could, if desired, take place.⁴³

During his speech introducing the naval estimates on March 26, 1913, the First Lord had set up a theoretically separate strategic function for contributed battleships. According to this definition they would meet the world-wide requirements of the British Empire, while the battle fleet provided by the United Kingdom would be more particularly concerned with the defence of that country.⁴⁴ This strategically unconvincing formula was advanced to meet the objection that if the Admiralty's 60 per cent margin were adequate the Dominion ships would be redundant. It was also an argument that could be used to meet the German claim that they would be obliged to build to offset any Dominion contributions, and Canadian expressions of a preference that any contributions should actually strengthen imperial defence rather than merely relieving the British taxpayer. Because of this doctrinal commitment, the communication last cited and subsequent ones referred to a possible Canadian contribution as being earmarked for special imperial requirements.

On June 25, Borden gave Mr. Churchill some reasons why the obstructive tactics of the Opposition had not been countered by dissolving Parliament, and said that the failure to reach any compromise with the Liberals in the Senate had been due to Laurier's insistence, backed by a threat to resign, on complete rejection of the bill. Borden added that if three ships were laid down in place of the unordered Canadian ones it would be desirable that they should be of the same character, class, and fighting value, as those which his Government had proposed to build. He himself could not visit Britain; but W. T. White, the Minister of Finance, was planning to go there shortly, and would be authorized to discuss the whole situation informally and confidentially, in order to facilitate future developments along the lines that had

⁴³Borden Papers, "Naval Notes—Years 1912-1921," Governor-General to Colonial Secretary (draft cable), June 1, 1913, and reply, June 4, 1913.

⁴⁴*Parliamentary Debates, 5th Series*, L, 1761.

been suggested.⁴⁶ In the middle of the summer he told Mr. Churchill: "We firmly adhere to our intention of providing three capital ships. I cannot at present definitely state method we shall pursue. My own opinion strongly inclines to insertion of substantial sum in estimates but there are political difficulties which I hope to overcome but which render consultation with colleagues imperative before final conclusion is reached."⁴⁶ Two months later the Canadian Government's intentions had assumed the following form, cast in the mould of the Ross compromise:

After discussion with my colleagues we are unanimous in opinion that proposals of last session should be pressed to conclusion by methods most likely to ensure successful result. Unless more satisfactory and effective method can be devised before our session opens on eighth January we propose to include in general estimates, or to present in a separate estimate, an item of ten or fifteen million dollars for increasing effective forces of empire. We shall explain to Parliament that this item will be appropriated to construction of three battleships or battle cruisers which will be commenced immediately but which cannot be completed until after general election. We shall further point out that if present government is again returned to power at that election the three ships will be placed at the disposal of His Majesty for common defence of Empire until recalled upon notice and that if we go out of office after election the new government can utilize them for the purpose of its policy announced by Laurier last session. I am hopeful but not absolutely confident that Senate will pass such an estimate. If necessary to secure passage we would agree to reduce number of ships to two and appropriate one third of proposed total expenditure to harbour and coast defence. Meantime I shall be very glad to have your observations and suggestions.⁴⁷

By the end of the year, however, and with the beginning of the session close at hand, the Government had decided not to proceed with the contribution project in the immediate future. Two communications to the First Lord, dated December 30 and 31 respectively, suggest that for some reason Borden and his colleagues were less confident than formerly that the Senate could be induced to pass any measure which would satisfy them. It will be recalled that negotiations with Senator Ross were being conducted at this time; but according to Borden the Government doubted the senator's ability to make his wishes effective. The two messages also indicate that the Canadian Government was disturbed by the reduced emphasis which the Admiralty was apparently placing on battleships. These considerations, and there may have been others as well, had undermined the Govern-

⁴⁶Borden Papers, "Naval Notes—Years 1912-1921," Borden to Churchill, June 25, 1913.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, cable confirmed in Borden to Churchill, Aug. 4, 1913.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, Administrator to Colonial Secretary (cable), Oct. 16, 1913.

ment's earlier purpose to introduce a contribution measure in the coming session of Parliament.⁴⁸

Soon afterwards Borden gave expression to an idea which was to remain in his mind thereafter as containing the only practicable solution for his difficulty until the moment when the First World War lowered the curtain upon the whole episode. On January 10, 1914, he ended a cablegram to Mr. Churchill with the sentence: "It is just possible that before end of Session we may secure majority in the Senate."⁴⁹ This statement derived its meaning from three facts. Most Canadian senators are elderly men, and the death-rate of the Senate is therefore high. The Borden Government would follow the unbroken precedent by having members of its own party appointed to fill all vacancies that might occur in the Upper House. Section 26 of the British North America Act provided that on the recommendation of the Governor-General three or six additional senatorships might be created and filled.⁵⁰

When the naval estimates for 1914-15 were being compiled in London, the First Lord cabled to Borden that the Admiralty was proposing to antedate the construction of two more battleships "to strengthen margin for defence Empire apart from United Kingdom thus securing year more for Canada to act." He explained that in the Cabinet, however, there was considerable opposition to taking this course, and added: "I should welcome telegram restating intention of your Government and prospect of effective action being taken within twelve months to provide either three ships or alternatively two ships and other smaller vessels. Deeply anxious no step here should hamper your policy and chance of success. Conditions stated Admiralty Memorandum unchanged and British declared programme will be regularly executed."⁵¹ Borden replied as follows:

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, Borden to Churchill (cable), Dec. 30, and letter, Dec. 31, 1913.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, Borden to Churchill (cable), Jan. 10, 1914.

⁵⁰"On August 31st [1913], I [conferred] with Lord Haldane . . . [with whom] I discussed the naval question, and the possibility of making appointments to the Senate under Section 26 of the British North America Act. This had previously been the subject of a conference with Mr. Asquith while we were in London" (*Borden Memoirs*, I, 379).

⁵¹Borden Papers, "Naval Notes—Years 1912-1921," Churchill to Borden (cable), Jan. 30, 1914. Mr. Churchill has recorded his difficulties at this time, which were occasioned by strong opposition to increased naval expenditure: "There followed [after the end of November 1913] nearly five months of extreme dispute and tension, during which Naval Estimates formed the main and often the sole topic of conversation at no less than fourteen full and prolonged meetings of the Cabinet. . . . By the middle of December it seemed to me certain that I should have to resign" (Winston S. Churchill, *The World Crisis 1911-1914*, New York, 1924, 181-7).

From our point of view further acceleration as suggested seems much the best course. As repeatedly declared we are determined to provide the three ships and we confidently believe that at the latest we can do so next session. Any new departure which might neutralize declarations in Admiralty Memorandum would of course strongly influence public opinion here and might seriously hamper our action. Liberal majority of forty nine in senate when we assumed office has already been reduced to twenty one by subsequent vacancies and new appointments. Some Liberal senators openly deplore Senate's action in defeating so many of our important measures and all of them are becoming alarmed at evidence of popular agitation for elective senate.⁴²

An appreciation of the naval situation at that moment was sent to Borden by Mr. Churchill in March:

The Navy Estimates have been, as I telegraphed to you, satisfactorily settled. They reach the enormous total of 51½ millions. Approximately half a million of this charge is due to the acceleration of two battleships to cover the position in the Mediterranean and generally, pending the settlement of a Canadian naval policy. This will secure a year's more breathing space in which Canada could renew her proposals. Meanwhile, however, time is passing and naval science developing. It is possible that it may be more convenient to you, should you be able to act next year, to build two capital ships and convert the third into cruisers or other craft. If so, the Admiralty would certainly approve such a decision. The dangers to which the capital ship is exposed increase continually. Our strength in the line of battle as against Germany, thanks to our exertions, is very great. We could certainly furnish you with good reasons for making such a change in respect of one of the capital ships, if such ideas commended themselves to you.⁴³

Borden continued to await the time when control of the Senate would pass to his party, and in the meantime he took a tentative step towards hastening that day. On July 13, 1914, he wrote the following letter to the High Commissioner for Canada in London:

In reply to your letter of the 24th June respecting the question of a naval conference, I entirely agree with you that it would be best to postpone further consideration of the subject until the next Imperial Conference. If a naval conference should be held before we obtain control of the Senate our position would be unsafe and unsatisfactory. It may be that we shall have control of the Upper Chamber by the end of next session, but that, of course, is quite uncertain.

At present our representation in the Senate consists of 37 Conservatives, including vacancies, as compared with 50 Liberals. When the number stands 42 to 45 we may find it desirable to forward a recommendation under section 26 of the British North America Act. You might informally sound Mr. Harcourt as to what their probable action would be upon such a recommendation.

During Mackenzie's administration the Imperial Government declined to act for the reason that the appointment of six Senators would not give control, but that reason would disappear under the conditions which I have mentioned.⁴⁴

⁴²Borden Papers, "Naval Notes—Years 1912-1921," Borden to Churchill (cable), Feb. 2, 1914.

⁴³*Ibid.*, Churchill to Borden, Mar. 6, 1914.

⁴⁴Borden Papers, O.C. no. 660, Borden to Perley, July 13, 1914.

This exploration, together with the whole emergency contribution project, became worthless a very short time afterwards, for three weeks later the warships of the Royal Navy were steaming to their war stations.

It has already been pointed out that Borden had had two separate naval policies. One of these had been designed to meet a specific emergency and was therefore both urgent and temporary in character. The second policy was intended to provide a permanent instrument of Canadian and imperial defence. This would necessarily take considerably longer to mature than the other, and was regarded by Borden as being the less pressing. To find the origin of this policy for the long future, and a possible source of the contribution project also, it is necessary to go back to the earliest weeks of the Borden administration.

In the fall of 1911, Sir William White, K.C.B., F.R.S., who had been the Director of Naval Construction at the Admiralty from 1885 to 1902 and the most widely known naval architect of his day, visited the Dominion for the purpose of inspecting the Grand Trunk Railway of which he was a director.⁵⁵ While in Ottawa on November 7 he called on Borden, and the two men discussed the question of Canadian naval policy, the Prime Minister asking the naval expert for his advice. Several weeks later White sent Borden a memorandum which recapitulated and possibly amplified the elements of their previous conversation. White advised that help afforded by Canada in the naval defence of the Empire should be given in four ways. He suggested that the Canadian Government arrange for the subvention and arming as auxiliary cruisers of the great steamships that carried mail and passengers to and from the ports of the Dominion on both coasts. Only ships with a speed of eighteen knots or more should be subsidized, and the plans of all new ships should be approved by the naval advisers of the Government. These armed merchant cruisers would be used to protect commerce on the trade routes leading to and from the principal Canadian seaports. They would operate for the most part in the approaches to the terminal ports on both the Canadian coasts, and if it were thought desirable they might also be employed further afield. White considered that a Canadian naval force should have some protected cruisers, and that the construction of these might well be associated with a general scheme for developing a modern shipbuilding industry in

⁵⁵For an account of White's career see Frederic Manning, *The Life of Sir William White* (London, 1923).

the Dominion. He added, however, that it would take a considerable time before Canada could build warships both rapidly and cheaply. In making plans White thought that war with the United States need not be considered. He did not agree that Dominion naval forces ought to include battleships: "In my judgment the construction of battle-ships may well remain in the hands of the mother country for a long time to come. Any assistance in that direction which may be rendered by Dominions beyond the seas will best take the form of financial contributions to necessary expenditure on building and maintaining such a fleet." This excerpt may conceivably contain the origin of Borden's whole contribution project.

On August 26, 1912, during his visit to England for the purpose of consulting the Admiralty, Borden saw White again and asked him for a second memorandum, which would reflect the situation as it then existed. This memorandum which was dated September 4, was intended to be read in conjunction with the first. At Borden's suggestion, no doubt, it drew a distinction between permanent and temporary or emergency programmes. For a permanent policy, the products of which the Canadian Government would own and control, retaining at the same time complete freedom of action, White again made four recommendations. The feature of his scheme which he represented as being the most important and urgent part of it was the provision of armed merchant cruisers as suggested in the earlier paper. Naval bases well equipped to supply vessels of the Royal Navy should be maintained on the Atlantic and Pacific. Means for defending these bases should also be provided. The fourth suggestion was that arrangements be made for training officers and men. If it were desired in addition to make some special and temporary provision in order to help in meeting the German naval threat, White suggested that it could best take the form of a gift to Great Britain of 4 to 6 million pounds, representing the cost of two or three battleships. The moral effect of such evidence of imperial solidarity would be very high.⁵⁶

The need to have a permanent programme ready when the time came was present in Borden's mind from the moment when the Government had decided to commit itself to a non-recurring contribution. The prime minister had no knowledge of naval affairs, and he probably trusted White and was glad to have had

⁵⁶Borden Papers, O.C. no. 634, White to Borden with enclosure, Dec. 28, 1911, and Sept. 4, 1912.

the advice, independently of the Admiralty, of a very outstanding naval expert. He also documented himself by obtaining memoranda on various aspects of the problem from the Admiralty and the Naval Service. His permanent policy had not been developed in detail when the First World War began. Nor, in view of Borden's concept of imperial relations, could it have achieved finality until the question of according to the Dominion a satisfactory share in the control of imperial policy should have been settled in one way or another. The direction in which he intended to set out, however, is clear enough. In March, 1913, he formulated his ideas on the subject for Mr. Churchill's information:

As Canada may eventually desire to establish and maintain one or more fleet units in co-operation with and in close relation to an Imperial navy and as the three ships [Canada's proposed contribution] might be required to form part of such unit or units I would suggest that you should allude to their possible recall upon reasonable notice. We shall probably announce later in this session that, pending consideration of the great and difficult problems attending the thorough co-operation of the Dominion in matters affecting Imperial defence and foreign policy, Canada proposes to undertake certain measures of defence which while primarily designed for the protection of her own shores and of her interests in contiguous waters will nevertheless be of importance from an Imperial standpoint. It is anticipated that this will be undertaken upon following lines. First, provision of dry docks useful for commercial purposes as well as for those of Admiralty. Second, establishment of naval bases and fortification of ports and harbours where they are situate, also defence of such ports and harbours by submarines, torpedo craft, etc. Third, establishment and gradual extension of shipbuilding and repair plants. Fourth, training of officers in naval college and of seamen in training ships. Fifth, subsidizing of swift and modern merchant steamships useful for scouting and other purposes, equipment of such ships with necessary guns and fittings and manning thereof by trained seamen. Sixth, gradual extension of Fishery Protection Service by addition of light cruisers manned by trained men and under naval discipline which while specially useful for primary purpose of protecting Fisheries will also be effective and available in time of war.⁶⁷

An important ingredient in Borden's whole concept of naval policy was the idea that that policy should be so directed as to encourage the growth of a shipbuilding industry in Canada. He had discussed the question with Mr. Churchill in 1912 in London. Shortly after his return to Canada, he reminded the First Lord of the earlier conversations, and pointed to the dilemma that while a great weakness in the contribution plan was that all the money would be spent outside Canada, on the other hand battleships could not within a reasonable time be built in the Dominion. He reminded the First Lord of the possibility, which they had dis-

⁶⁷Borden Papers, "Naval Notes—Years 1912-1921," Governor-General to Colonial Secretary (draft cable), Mar. 22, 1913.

cussed in London, that the Admiralty might build some small warships in Canada, the additional cost being divided between the two governments. The First Lord replying recognized the importance of Borden's idea, and said that any practical scheme for the co-operation of the Admiralty in carrying it out would command his support. The main difficulty lay in the high degree of expert knowledge and experience required for the efficient building of modern warships. He assured Borden that if the prices were reasonable, having regard to all the circumstances including the willingness of the Canadian Government to share the extra cost, and if the time required for construction were not excessive, the Admiralty would be willing to place some orders in Canada. The most suitable types of vessel with which to inaugurate the scheme would be light cruisers, tankers, and small auxiliary craft. The Admiralty would remain wholly responsible for design and for supervising construction. The details could be worked out later and should not present any difficulty.⁵⁸ This understanding lapsed with the demise of the Naval Aid Bill of which it had been a corollary.

One more plan which was destined to end abortively was set on foot before the final curtain descended. On March 6, 1914, Mr. Churchill wrote suggesting that a naval officer of high rank should be sent to Canada to discuss with the Government matters relating to emergency and permanent naval policies. He thought that such a conference would strengthen the Government's hand for future action. The First Lord said that if Borden favoured the idea he would select for the mission Sir John Jellicoe, whom he described as "the first of British sailors at the present time." Jellicoe was Second Sea Lord, and had been chosen to take command of the Home Fleets at the end of the year. After several months' delay Borden replied that Jellicoe's proposed visit would be very welcome; and twelve days before war began he cabled a formal request that a naval officer "of adequate experience and capacity" should be sent. Jellicoe's experience was destined to become considerably more adequate before he actually came on his well-known mission to Canada more than five years later.⁵⁹

With the declaration of war on Germany the Admiralty's objections to publishing the secret memorandum disappeared. A week after that declaration Mr. Churchill cabled to Borden asking

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, Borden to Churchill, Oct. 3, 1912; *ibid.*, Borden to Churchill, Oct. 5, 1912, O.C. no. 657; *ibid.*, Churchill to Borden, Nov. 4, 1912, O.C. no. 653.

⁵⁹Correspondence in Borden Papers, O.C. no. 660.

for his consent to the publication of the document with a few omissions. For obvious reasons Borden strongly favoured the idea; but Asquith and the Colonial Secretary were opposed, and the memorandum was not published.⁶⁰

The precise origin of the Naval Aid Bill is uncertain. The idea of a contribution had become commonplace in Canada long before Borden went to England in 1912; indeed he had himself, during the naval debate of 1909, foreshadowed a possible need to adopt such a policy. In 1910 the secondary and conditional idea which he had enunciated the year before was converted into a primary and absolute one. In 1912 he may have suggested to the Admiralty the idea of contributing battleships; in which case the father of the idea may have been one of the Government's supporters, or Sir William White, or Borden himself. More probably Borden asked the Admiralty what would be the best means of giving quick and effective aid; but in this case the idea of a contribution of battleships was exceedingly familiar to him before he did so. If he merely sought the Admiralty's advice, Mr. Churchill's words during the first meeting of the Committee of Imperial Defence were probably the formal statement of the Admiralty's opinion which Borden had already been given unofficially. The origin of Borden's contribution idea owes its obscurity largely to the fact that in Britain and the Dominions the air had long been filled with the three related notions of a German naval threat, Dominion contributions, and battleships.

The close relations that existed between the Liberal First Lord and the Conservative Prime Minister throughout the whole period when the contribution policy was under consideration rested upon mutual confidence and a common aim. Mr. Churchill's undisguised desire to see Borden's policy carried out was largely based, no doubt, on motives that he shared with the other members of the British Government. In addition, however, it is probable that he would have welcomed a contribution from Canada, both as an imperialist and also because it would have redounded greatly to his credit as First Lord. He realized that the contribution was a temporary one only, and his full acceptance of this fact seems to be suggested in a letter that he wrote to Borden at the end of 1913. In it he said that a current attempt to arrange a "holiday" in naval building could probably be facilitated by Borden: "What I ask is this. In introducing yr. proposal, could you say that these are emergency proposals, distinct from the

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, correspondence.

permanent naval policy of Canada."⁶¹ The unofficial correspondence between these two men, which was published only in part, was unusual and drew considerable criticism at the time.

Borden's naval policy as a whole was not clear cut and the philosophy behind it is not easy to interpret. The following summary is offered for the most part, therefore, only as stating probabilities. Borden was a moderate imperialist who believed in closer intra-imperial relations: but only on condition that these should be based on equality of status in theory and in fact. It was this political philosophy, more than anything else, that led him to abandon his attitude of the year 1909, that any Canadian naval effort, aside from a possible emergency contribution, must necessarily take the form of a separate Service. The temporary contribution itself was in accord with this philosophy, and with that of a large section of his party. He regarded its failure to be enacted merely as a vexatious delay, which in turn helped to postpone the adoption of any more permanent policy. For this latter postponement there were other reasons as well. The large contribution which he intended to propose again as soon as possible would for a time discharge Canada's obligations; while the nature of a permanent policy could not be finally decided until the problem of a jointly controlled imperial foreign policy had been satisfactorily solved or given up as being too difficult.

If peace had been maintained, and assuming that an answer to the problem of a joint foreign policy had been found, Borden would probably have favoured some highly collective form of imperial naval defence, embodying integrated fleet units or perhaps permanent contributions. The problem remaining unsolved, on the other hand, he would have aimed at a more autonomous development, probably along the lines that had been suggested by Sir William White. In the event, peace was not preserved nor was the problem solved; and what Borden actually did when the question faced him later was to carry on the Canadian Service under the Naval Service Act. Borden's pre-war policy contained two fatal defects. In the period that lay ahead imperialism was destined to become weaker and Dominion nationalism to increase in strength. Even in terms of imperialist sentiment as it then existed, moreover, he had underestimated the immense difficulty of creating a centralized imperial structure which would really work; and it is suggested that it was because he later came to be

⁶¹Borden Papers, "Naval Notes—Years 1912-1921," Churchill to Borden, Dec. 19, 1913.

more fully aware of this difficulty or impossibility, that his policy during and after the First World War emphasized Dominion autonomy rather than imperial integration. In the period which has been dealt with, the Borden Government neither implemented the Naval Service Act, nor tried to repeal it. The emergency policy was regarded as the only immediate step required or desirable, and Borden regarded independent naval measures as something to be undertaken only if a more centralized imperial policy should prove impossible to attain on the terms which he considered essential.

During its pre-war tenure of office the Borden Government had not implemented the Naval Service Act. It had not set on foot its own intermediate policy still less a permanent one. Nor had it been able to start its instant project, born of the German naval threat and a fear of war. When this fear became a reality, therefore, there were no Canadian *Bristols* and destroyers, nor fleet units, nor any contributed *Queen Elizabeths*, either built or building. There was consequently no prospect that the Dominion could furnish substantial help towards winning the war at sea.

GILBERT NORMAN TUCKER

Ottawa.

A PERSONAL NOTE ON THE THEME OF CANADIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS*

I AM deeply appreciative of your generous thought on my behalf in inviting me here tonight as guest of honour at this Canadian-American Conference on Education, for if our hopes are realized, this meeting will be something more than a passing incident in the educational history of our two countries. It is a strange comment upon the haphazard ways of democracy that down to these last years no serious continued effort had ever been made at a joint study of the educational policies of Canada and the United States. Yet, classroom instruction is second only to political action in moulding national attitudes. Fortunately, the political alignment of the two countries is now drawing closer than ever before—one of the few benefits resulting from the tragedy of war.

It is, therefore, fitting that the American Council on Education and the three chief Canadian associations on education should join together to carry on the work begun by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace during the last ten years. The biennial conferences on Canadian-American affairs, held alternately at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario, and at the St. Lawrence University in northern New York, led to an educational conference between the New England States and the Maritime Provinces, which was planned and largely carried out by one of the earliest students of Canadian-American educational problems, the president of the University of Maine, Dr. Arthur A. Hauck. But in the absence of literature upon the subject, there was almost no instruction in any college either side of the border on Canadian-American relations. Light has, however, been thrown at last into this dark corner of Canadian-American history by the Carnegie Endowment series, the main substance of

*Editor's note: This article, which was prepared by Dr. Shotwell at the request of the editors of the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, consists of extracts from an address given by him at a dinner which took place during the meeting of the Canada-United States Committee on Education held in Niagara Falls, Canada, in September, 1944. The article reflects the character of the address, which in keeping with the occasion, was personal and informal. It has, nevertheless, a general significance and interest, since it illustrates in concrete fashion the multitude of individual and family experiences which have been a constant and important, even if elusive, element in the history of Canadian-American relations. To the formal and scholarly investigation of that history Dr. Shotwell has made a unique contribution through his direction of the series of volumes sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. It is very fitting that he should now add from his own memory something on the personal and informal side of the story.

which is being summed up in the twenty-fifth and final volume, by Professor Brebner.

In spite of all the favourable omens under which we meet, the task which we have undertaken is more difficult than most people realize. To have any enduring effect, the enlargement of our intellectual perspectives must rest upon something more real than sentimental expressions of good will. The lesson of history in this regard is all too evident, for Canadian-American relations have not always been those of good neighbours. It was but natural that in the great achievement of the conquest of the continent the two national systems should at times get in each other's way and that in the economic development which followed upon the age of the pioneer, there should have been recurring difficulties and misunderstandings. While we may confidently expect that we have turned the corner upon the more serious of these neighbourhood troubles, it would be a mistake to ignore the fact that the interests of both nations may not always run parallel. Our fundamental policy therefore in the field of education must be to build up out of the experience of the past, an objective, impartial, critical spirit which will deal with realities in their own terms, for that is the only lasting basis of international understanding.

Fortunately, it is already clear from the discussions at this meeting that we are ready for this kind of realism in our schools and colleges. Upon it we can build international understanding which will not be something incidental to daily life but an exchange of experience and ideas which each people will recognize as being partly its own. Nowhere else in the world is there a more challenging or inspiring task than this to which the Canada-United States Committee proposes to devote its best thought and effort throughout the coming years.

But I must not go on with a philosophy of education or of political theory. Instead I have a much simpler theme. For it has been suggested to me that in this interlude in the serious work of the Conference, I might contribute some reminiscences from the long stretch of years which I have spent both sides of the border.

This is, I think, the first time I have ever indulged in that most fallible form of historical narration which relies upon memory alone to bring back the scenes and happenings of long ago. I still recall vividly the mental shock which I experienced in my freshman year at the University of Toronto fifty years ago when, in the elementary course in psychology, Professor Hume laid down

the maxim that memory and imagination were psychologically akin, the only difference being that memory held imagination down to scenes and happenings which one could identify from one's own experience. I do not know just how psychologists deal with that theory today, but it at least provides a useful critical criterion for historians and a warning not to take too literally memoirs which are not controlled by documentary evidence.

If, as someone has said, all thought is adventure, it would seem as though autobiography should be the least attractive, because the adventure is limited by the horizon of the individual life. Yet, however narrow that horizon, there are so many paths to follow within it that even the most homely story can become a part of universal experience. Of this, however, the narrator is always a poor judge, for he has to concentrate upon himself and leave the worthwhileness of his story to be judged by others.

With these apologies for complying with your request, I gladly set forth on my own little adventure in the world of memory which carries me back to my boyhood in the town of Strathroy in Western Ontario, with its shaded streets and quiet restful atmosphere, a town whose very name gives a clue to the kind of settlers who first came to that locality. Strathroy is the Gaelic for "red valley." It must have been given that name by some Scottish Highlander, bringing with him, as was so often the case, the name of his native hamlet in the old world. I have been told that there is a Strathroy in the Scottish Highlands, but have never verified that fact. I am led to think that it must be so, because the soil of Western Ontario has not that reddish tinge which one finds in the southern states along the Atlantic seaboard. The nearest approach to red in the soil was the yellowish muddy stream of the little Sydenham River, locally known as Mud Creek, when it was in spate in spring or autumn. A little imagination could deepen the colour, if the glacial silted Danube could be called blue! But I doubt if that was really the origin of the name "Strathroy."

The only reason for pausing on the name is that it seems to point to the Highland Scotch as being the first of the pioneers. So far as I know, however, no records have been kept of the way in which the earliest settlers moved into this part of the wilderness. They were all of British stock, but English, Irish, and Scotch settled in different communities and preserved a clannish neighbourhood life down to my own time. It was the Scotch element, however, which was most in evidence, holding yearly Caledonian games with the accompaniment of skirling pipes and

competitive dances of the Highland Fling and the Sword Dance, keeping the old customs alive for the younger generation. The older Highland farmers still preferred Gaelic to English, but those of my generation—while they still understood it—seldom spoke it. This seems to have been the way in which all other language groups in the United States and Canada have ceased to use the foreign idiom of their ancestors. It apparently takes between one and two generations, whether the settlers be of Scotch, Scandinavian, or continental origin. This, of course, has not been true of larger settlements.

In spite of all the books that have been written about pioneer days, it is impossible for us fully to appreciate the exploits of the heroic age of North American pioneering. It was only the sturdiest and strongest who could survive the rigours of primitive living. In my boyhood, many of the old settlers were still alive, and around the fireplaces of the old farm-houses they used to like to swap stories of the earliest days. My own grandfathers cleared their farms from the wilderness with the axe. The winding old wood roads were still there, following the higher banks of the streams down to the market town. They were in local use, although the government surveys had cut straight roads to which the farms were adjusted with monotonous repetition. It made possible the layout of symmetrical farms, but here as elsewhere in the whole continent, it made prose instead of poetry of the countryside.

My mother's people were English from Nottinghamshire on her mother's side, bearing the old Anglo-Saxon name of Buttery, while her father, James Thomson, from whom I am named, was of Scotch-Irish Ulster stock. It did not matter to other people whether the name was spelled with a "p" or not, but to an Ulsterman it was almost beyond endurance, for the Thompsons with the "p" were Englishmen from south of the border, while the Thomsons without the "p" came originally to the Ulster plantation from Ayrshire. Both Butterys and Thomsons migrated from the old world in the early nineteenth century and settled in the wilderness on large grants of a thousand acres each, which were subsequently divided into individual farms of the usual one hundred acre size.

The Shotwells were of old American stock, originally coming apparently from central England. I say "apparently," because there are no Shotwells left in England. The American Shotwells, however, are all descended from an Abraham Shotwell who, as

early as 1664, had signed the oath of allegiance to the Lords Proprietors of the Province of New Jersey, founded in that year. The town of Rahway was first known as Shotwell's Landing. Although it would seem that he had been on the Royalist side, the earliest records of New Jersey name him as one of those who took part in one of the very earliest revolts in the English colonies, in 1672, when the settlers, holding back the quit-rents from the proprietors, refused to take the oath of allegiance in the assembly. Legend even goes farther to claim that it was he who, meeting Governor Carteret on a narrow bridge, tossed him into the stream. This story is borne out by the fact that his land was confiscated and the family had to move to Staten Island until after the "great and glorious Revolution" in England of 1689. The branch of the family that came to Canada was not United Empire Loyalist, but came as a part of that great migration from the seaboard states which began to fill up the middle west in the decade after the War of 1812. The family meantime had become members of the Society of Friends and those who crossed into Canada refused to accept government help on taking up new land. At first they settled with other Quakers near Thorold in the Niagara district and then moved to Western Ontario where there was another Quaker settlement in Lobo Township just west of London. Again one comes upon a variant of the clannishness of early pioneer life. The Quakers grouped together around their meeting houses, and seldom married "out of meeting," thus keeping a closed community for at least several generations.

The story of this migration has some historical interest because it shows that the prime interest of these settlers at least was land and a home, and that nationalism played little if any part in deciding where that home should be. Although they trekked together across New York State, they divided on reaching Buffalo, and part of the family group went on to Indiana instead of crossing the Canadian border. For a while they kept in touch with each other, especially at "yearly meetings" when Quakers used to gather from all parts of the country and renew old acquaintances. When my father was still a young man, his family left Canada to take up a new home in Kansas, where all but he spent the rest of their days. At one time my father, a country school teacher, took up land in Nebraska with cousins of his, whose families still live there. Even in my own boyhood, people moved freely back and forth across the international line. We had relatives who went over to Michigan and farther west, and

we thought no more of it than if they had moved out of Middlesex into the adjacent County of Lambton.

This slight sketch of the pioneering background of my own life covers about all I know of it, for both my father and my mother had a philosophy of life which looked forward, not backward, a trait which perhaps more than any other, marks off the North American mind from that of the European. There was an additional reason, however, for the relative lack of interest in early Ontario history because, compared with that of the United States, it was very slight indeed. The early age of Canada had been French, and to us in Western Ontario that meant an almost wholly foreign past. We had no contact with the French who, at that time, had not spread beyond the confines of Quebec. I never saw a French Canadian until the Prime Minister, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, came to address a political meeting in our town, and he used—with consummate skill and eloquence—the language of Milton and Shakespeare.

Our history was that of the old world, a history touched with the romance of distance in both time and space. Few if any of us had the feeling that we were part of the great world drama. We were rather spectators who remained aloof and apart. Even the great creation of the Dominion in 1867 was by an act of the Parliament at Westminster, and the fulfilment of Canadian national destiny was a question of practical present-day politics rather than an event in the century-old development of government and liberty.

The change in outlook which has come in recent years has been reflected in the educational system of Ontario. The first school that I attended belonged to an age that has disappeared, in which education was chiefly literary with disciplines in grammar and mathematics. Although the "Readers" were largely drawn from those great classics of American education, the McGuffey Readers, the history was only English history. There were two small manuals in use in the grade school, those of Edith Thompson and Collier, books in which each king of England had a chapter, with dates for all the battles and a thin but readable narrative, not of the lives of the people of England but of purely political history. About the time I reached high school at the age of twelve, there was added to these English history manuals, by the enterprise of the publishers, Copp Clark Company of Toronto, a little paper-bound pamphlet of thirty or forty pages which contained all the Canadian history offered in the schools. There was a short

account in it of the founding of Canada, quickly getting to the conquest by the British, but most of the text was about the War of 1812. My first lesson in cosmopolitan outlook was in fighting over again the Battle of Queenston Heights. We boys at school used to divide and fight that battle out between ourselves—that is, whenever we could persuade or force any unfortunate victims to take the American side. The school yard was as flat as a table, but one could charge up the side of the woodpile with gallant General Brock. There was no American history taught in high school or even in the university as late as the closing years of the nineteenth century.

In spite of all educational theory, the character of the education which any child receives is largely dependent upon the character of the teacher and especially of the head master of the school. The head master of the Strathroy High School was a classically trained teacher of literature and poetry, named Wetherell. He taught us the difference between false rhetoric and genuine literature by forcing us to learn by heart many of the great poems which are classics in the English language. That was a training for which I am still profoundly grateful for I can now recall many a shining verse to give expression to the changing moods of life and the beauty and the mystery of the world around. Along with this training in aesthetics there was discipline in English grammar when taught by a classical master and studied side by side with Harkness's Latin Grammar and Arnold's Latin Prose. We have lost something of the discipline which these studies demanded, for then Latin was a compulsory study in the university and therefore ranked high in the curriculum of the high school which prepared for it. There was, however, no subject more abhorrent to the casual student than Latin prose, a fact which proved of great advantage to me because I was able to pay my way through the university chiefly by tutoring for Latin prose examinations.

In those days the Strathroy High School was one of the two or three leading high schools in the province. Therefore it is all the more disappointing to have to report that history was badly taught by a superbly good teacher of mathematics who taught it on the side. Green's *Short History of the English People*, however, needed no teachers' commentary, for it opened even to the thirteen-year-old student, not the dull chronicle of kings and dates, but the story of the people themselves. I can still recall the splendour of Green's description of Elizabethan and Puritan England. Although Green is in disrepute at present because of

his nationalist outlook, tracing everything to Germanic origins through the Anglo-Saxon peoples, his story of the dawn of modern times will always live in the field of literary masterpieces. Everyone knows now that the English are a mixed people and that Green's outlook was that of the nineteenth century when the national state was the one great theme of modern history. None of us, however, were aware of how this nationalist trend of historical interest produced in Germany the Prussian school of historians which created the background for the militant movements of Bismarck's Prussianism and Hitler's Nazism. The thing that saved English history was that it concentrated upon the growth of a constitution in which the military was subordinated to representative civil government. The imperialism which Americans have discerned so strongly in English history dealt with far-off lands such as those still characterized in the Covenant of the League of Nations as being "inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world." In the complacent theory of British politics, the conquest and rule of these peoples was not colonial oppression but a paternalism, which, if it paid dividends in London city also brought progress throughout the world as well. It should be added, of course, that in those days no one thought of history as reaching down to the recent past. Green's *History of England*, for example, had only a few slight pages on the whole of the nineteenth century.

American history was also nationalist at that time, with almost no attention paid to its European origins. As I had no courses in it in the University of Toronto, my ignorance of it when I first went to Columbia in 1898 would have been embarrassing if the content of it had seemed to me more worth while. For that was before American history was emancipated from the old Harvard tradition. The theme was that of New England spreading its genial rays over the rest of the country. Civilization had begun not too far from Boston. At Columbia the Faculty of Political Science accepted this basic principle of American history but concentrated more upon the colonial period under Professor Osgood's detailed analysis, and the history of the Civil War which was viewed as having its roots in the Missouri Compromise. Professor Burgess, himself a veteran of the Civil War, fought the old issues over in his courses in history and public law. It was a great advance upon this conception when Turner and Theodore Roosevelt concentrated attention upon the westward movement, but they overemphasized the significance of the purely American move-

ment. The stream of migration which crossed from Canada was never traced to its sources by those who followed the movement of the people of the Atlantic seaboard over the Alleghenies. The Canadian-American migration, a two-way movement, had never been traced in detail until we undertook it in the Carnegie Endowment volumes on Canadian-American Relations. The statistical measurement of Americans migrating to Canada by Dr. Robert H. Coates and the Canadian migration to the United States measured by Dr. Leon M. Truesdell, are matched by the splendid historical narrative of the mingling of the peoples by Professor M. L. Hansen. It is highly significant that this movement of Canadians into the United States left almost no trace for the historian. The Canadians had become one with the American people, cherishing nothing of that provincialism which still characterized the New England immigrants.

At Columbia, James Harvey Robinson, Charles A. Beard, and I formed a little group of our own to carry on a revolution that would bring into the curriculum intellectual history (Robinson), economic American history (Beard), and social history which I finally chose for my own. We were still working in these rich fields when the First World War invaded the classrooms and caused us to question many of the nineteenth-century ideas on progress and even on the nature of civilization itself.

It might be interesting now if I were to say something about how I came to Columbia. In my senior year at the University of Toronto, I turned aside from majoring in modern languages and literature and turned to history. As I recall it, the only courses then being given in history were those on Greece and Rome given by the professors of the Classical Department, and the course in general European history by Professor Wrong, for whom the first chair of history was created in 1894. As the field was new to him, he concentrated upon the history of the universities in the Middle Ages, a field which had just been opened up by the scholarly volumes of Rashdall, and upon the French Revolution, based similarly upon recently published volumes, those of Morse Stevens, then professor at Cornell. Like many of my generation, I was deeply impressed by Carlyle, not so much the prophet of hero worship as the historian. One memorable afternoon, however, Morse Stevens gave a public lecture at Toronto which was a thoroughgoing criticism of Carlyle. At first I found it very disheartening and then, on second thought, it seemed that there was room for a new literary history of the

French Revolution. And that at once seemed the thing for me to do! All by myself I then wrote one chapter in which I outlined that great theme in the most approved style of the rhetorician. Then it occurred to me that perhaps it would be better to go to the university library and find out something about the subject. In an obscure corner of an unfurnished seminar room I found on the floor against the wall a long row of books, the minutes of the Committee of Public Safety of the Reign of Terror. It was the publication of Aulard, who had even then begun to show up Taine as an unreliable, unscholarly source. Although I did not know it at the time, it also marked a new era in French historiography in which the literary historians of the mid-nineteenth century gave way to an analysis of source material parallel to the movement for scientific history in Germany. Some years later it was my privilege to attend Aulard's lectures as well as those of the outstanding master of the new French school of historians, Gabriel Monod. I knew nothing of this background, however, in Toronto in 1894, and I can still recall the shock of surprise to find that there were minutes kept of the committees of the Reign of Terror. A little exploration showed that upon the overthrow of Louis XVI, the conduct of government was taken over by committees under the sovereign authority of the Convention. It was like opening a new world, therefore, to trace the growth of these committees, and so, committing my literary effort to the wastebasket, I wrote a little study on this obscure section of the history of the French Revolution.

This little mimeographed essay was then mailed to all American universities where scholarships or fellowships were granted in postgraduate history. The only encouraging answer was from Columbia, where they said that the most they ever offered a senior just beginning graduate work was a scholarship which would pay the tuition fees. By tutoring and other work during the summer after graduation from Toronto, I was able to pay off most of my small college debt and went to New York on a loan of \$200 from Sir William McKenzie, the railroad magnate, whose son I had been tutoring.

I purposely mention the exact amount of the capital on which I had to spend a year in New York, because of the satisfaction which it gave me to think that this was in the great tradition of European scholarship, which made hardship a spur to attainment. A heatless room in Harlem was rented for \$1.35 a week. It had the advantage that I was literally obliged to live in the heated

library of the university. I was there from 8:30 in the morning when it opened to 11:00 at night when it closed, and I have never worked harder nor read more in any year in my life. I pass this on as a suggestion to others!

The Faculty of Political Science at Columbia University was then regarded as the leading group of scholars in that field in America. Practically all of them had been trained in Germany and belonged to the period of Germanic influence in American graduate schools. Dean Burgess had a strong personality and a dogmatic temper, but fortunately the one most important gift which he brought back from Germany to American academic life was emphasis upon *Lehrfreiheit*, and every professor on his faculty felt assured of his academic freedom. As for his courses in jurisprudence and history, however, I had then little respect and have perhaps even less now. The sole criterion for everything in political theory was the Constitution of the United States, which was construed with the accent on the preservation of personal liberty, guaranteed in the last resort by the Supreme Court. As the English had no written constitution and the only parallel to the Supreme Court seemed to be the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, of which few British citizens had ever heard, his theory implied a conception of English history which left that unfortunate country far behind the more legalistic systems of government. On the other hand, Brazil, which at that time seemed to have copied the American Constitution, was held as next in line after the United States. As for Burgess's treatment of American history, it was all reinterpreted in the light of the Civil War and the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution. The "Middle Period" was treated as a time during which the great federalist ideas of the founding fathers, as Burgess interpreted them, were lost to view, to be recovered after the Civil War. This, it seemed to me, was only history by courtesy.

The one really creative mind among the historians at Columbia was James Harvey Robinson. It was my great privilege to work under him as a student and alongside him as colleague for many years. On my arrival at Columbia I found out that it had been Robinson who had recommended me for a scholarship and the reason was that I had analysed the committees of the Reign of Terror on the basis of original material. No one who worked with him at that time could risk facile generalizations on inadequate evidence. As years went on, however, his scepticism

grew until it became a questioning, not only of the past, but of the capacity of the human animal to carry on a really rational life. From history, therefore, he turned more and more to science and to psychology, attempting to understand intelligence itself in terms of its long and elusive history from the prehistoric animal world to that of today, in which we preserve, in an unconscious heritage, so much of the animal mind.

Although by the close of the nineteenth century Canada had become nationally self-conscious, there were no intellectual frontiers to cross in coming from the University of Toronto to Columbia. None of the Canadian universities had as yet developed post-graduate studies beyond the degree of Master of Arts, and that was generally granted upon the submission of an essay rather than at the completion of a year's course in graduate study. This also had been the case with most American universities down to the eighteen-seventies, when German Ph.D.'s began to figure in the list of graduate instructors. The University of Toronto was consciously modelled upon Oxford or Cambridge. At Columbia the atmosphere was wholly different, as wider horizons were opened up by highly trained specialists in different fields, who applied strict disciplines in their research seminars. No question was raised as to the nationality of a student, the only test was scholarship. This was even an advance upon the mediaeval universities where the students held together as "nations." In later years, as Columbia grew to be almost a city in itself, provision was made for an Italian House, a *Deutsches Haus*, and a *Maison Française*, but fortunately the foreign students do not live apart. There will never be a street climbing Morningside like the *Rue des Ecossais*, by which the Scottish students climbed the hill to the University of Paris.

My experience as a Canadian migrant to Columbia was certainly paralleled by that of dozens if not hundreds of other Canadian students who have come to American universities and remained there for the rest of their lives. All of us, I think, have felt that it was an equal privilege to have been born in Canada and to have passed the years of our mature life in the American academic world. This involved, of course, an ultimate change of citizenship, for the scholar no longer lives in the ivory tower of academic seclusion. So far as the Canadian academic migration is concerned, this means an awareness of the growth of a North American nationality in which old loyalties are cherished, not for provincial exclusiveness but for the maintenance of the enduring

verities which embody the ideals of human rights and freedom as expressed in the history and institutions of both Canada and the United States.

So far I have said nothing about the problem of international peace, on which I have been engaged for more than a quarter of a century. I doubt if any of us can now recall how terrible was the impact of the First World War in those fateful days of August, 1914. Even in the United States, which was to remain neutral for two and a half years longer, the emotional tension was deeply felt, for in the long interval of peace, war between civilized nations had begun to seem unthinkable. I recall distinctly how, in 1910, our academic community at Columbia took lightheartedly the announcement that Andrew Carnegie had set aside \$10 million as an Endowment for International Peace.

In the fall of 1914, I was asked by Professor John Bates Clark, Director of the Division of Economics and History of the Endowment, my predecessor in this post, to draw up a plan for a comprehensive study of the economic and social displacement cost of the war in the processes of civilization. The results of this survey were ultimately embodied in the *Economic and Social History of the World War*, to which I devoted most of the next six years after the Paris Peace Conference where I held the somewhat misleading title of Chief of the Division of History of the American Delegation.

It was from these studies of war and the subsequent effort to deal with them through the League of Nations that I turned in 1933 to the problem of Canadian-American relations as the best possible example of how nations can learn to live together without any slightest possibility or risk of war. The task which this conference has undertaken therefore seems to me to be a vital part of the greatest of all the problems of our time and it is a supreme satisfaction to know that plans are under way for embodying in lasting institutional form this significant movement for international understanding.

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Columbia University.

CHIEF JUSTICE WILLIAM SMITH: AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY WHIG IMPERIALIST

YOU know my enthusiasm respecting the constitution of England. Every encomium I ever read in its favour is short of my idea of its perfection; . . . of all modes of government I pronounce it to be the best. . . ."¹

This is not Wellington in the House of Lords hurling defiance at the Whigs. It is the private confession of faith of Chief Justice William Smith—that famous Loyalist whom revolutionaries called a tory and fellow Loyalists a republican.² Smith was neither; he was an imperialist in the aristocratic tradition of Burke; he was also a very astute lawyer with practical experience in colonial administration, and a determination to demonstrate on the North American scene not the romantic virtue of dying for one's principles, but the practical Whig method of living and profiting by them. He did not quite succeed; his ample continental ideas could not be adapted to the narrow Canadian scene. Yet he pursued his aim to the end, not recognizing his failure, or possibly betrayed by circumstances into an idealism that surprised himself.

Smith's ideas and policies emerged naturally from his previous career in New York and its sudden termination. He was a successful lawyer, closely connected with the landed and commercial aristocracy of that wealthy cosmopolitan community. Always keenly interested in politics and active in them as a member of the executive council he led the protests against the Stamp Act which seemed to attack his revered constitution.³ But this struggle to maintain the constitution ended in its overthrow. To Smith this was a personal tragedy and a public calamity. It posed a problem to the solution of which he devoted the rest of his life. He and his friends had only followed British precedent. In England men could agitate for their rights and yet (after the "glorious revolution") stop short of civil war. In North America, apparently, they could not. There was nothing wrong, Smith felt, with the constitution or with his defence of it. The trouble must lie in the particular shape it had assumed in the colonies. Because, in "a score of petty parliaments" consisting "of only one

¹Public Archives of Canada, Smith Papers, Smith to Brook Watson, Oct. 24, 1788.

²Thomas Jones, *History of New York during the Revolutionary War* (2 vols., New York, 1879), I, 41, n.2, 59, 142.

³For Smith's views on this matter see his letters to Monckton, New York Public Library, Chalmers Collection, vol. IV, especially nos. 14-20.

of the three necessary branches of a parliament," there was an immense preponderance of colonial assemblies, "all America was . . . at the very outset . . . abandoned to democracy." The true remedy lay in the development of the other two branches according to the British model: a monarchy with dignity and power, supported, perhaps dominated, by an aristocracy, but both uniting to curb that dangerous democracy which Smith honestly thought could only lead to anarchy, and the destruction of all personal liberty.⁴

These colonial and imperial theories were fully developed during Smith's stay in England from January, 1784 to August, 1786.⁵ His interest was far from being purely academic. Early in the period he knew that he would probably accompany his friend Carleton to Quebec as chief justice, to help in the inauguration of a new constitution.⁶ Among his private papers are a long essay, and a series of drafts of official documents which reveal very clearly the policy which he was pressing on the British government.⁷ He regarded the "late Rent" and "unnatural Partition" as disastrous to both parties. With the western world divided between the law and liberty of Britain and the despotism of France and Spain, such a rift in the bands of the righteous was a threat to civilization itself.⁸ But the loss was not irretrievable. This was Smith's conviction, and the key to his whole system. The American colonies, his own country for which he never ceased to feel affection and pity, might be won, or perhaps driven, back to the fold by a wise and firm policy which would appeal to "their Hopes and their Fears." The surviving British colonies must be given a good, that is a completely British, government, but with special provisions for this critical period when their own fate and that of their rebellious neighbours hung in the balance. A sound policy would win American respect by

⁴Adam Shortt and A. G. Doughty, *Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791* (2 vols., Ottawa, 1907), II, 1018, Smith to Dorchester, Feb. 5, 1790.

⁵For a general discussion of Smith and his share in governmental policy see A. L. Burt, *The Old Province of Quebec* (Minneapolis, 1933), 422-45.

⁶P.A.C., Series B, vol. 76, 198, Mathews to Haldimand, Sept. 7, 1786.

⁷New York Public Library, Smith Papers, "Observations on the Loss of the American Colonies." The essential parts of this document are published, with an introduction by Oscar Zeichner in *New York History*, July, 1942, 328-40; P.A.C., Smith Papers, "Dr. of an Act to provide for the Constitution, Regulation and Government of the Province of Quebec," "Powers to Sir G. Carleton," "Powers to the Governor General."

⁸"Observations on the Loss of the American Colonies," 1, 2.

its appearance of strength. It might do more; with an independence "undoubtedly premature" and a government falling into disorder, envy and desire might lead them back to the British union.⁹ At the same time an energetic immigration policy must fill the vacant British lands with Loyalists, their friends, and all others who would come from Britain or elsewhere. There was even a hint that this settlement might spill over into the vast lands that the Americans were unable to fill, and that other appeals as well, might be made to fears and hopes.¹⁰ Even if the old colonies could not be won back, retention of the remaining ones would be secured by such a policy.

Coming to details, Smith stated that effective government in North America required the erection of a general government under a governor with unprecedented powers to look after all common interests, and co-ordinate the activities of the petty local administrations. A most important function would be to arrange with Great Britain the requisitions for colonial defence, and then fix with the general government the quotas to be passed on to the local assemblies which would thus retain exclusive taxing power (or the appearance of it). It was assumed that such a constitution would be supported by the aristocratic principles essential to stability in society and neglected by the "visionaries, who tho' equality of estate is the soul of their system are at the same time inattentive to the diversified distribution of mankind ordained by heaven itself, that will admit of no such equality."¹¹

On the best method of achieving such a government Smith had no doubt at all. While retaining his preference for the whole of parliament as essential to the British system, and admitting the imperial supremacy of the British Parliament,¹² he was quite certain that specific legislation from Great Britain was not desirable in the present crisis. The widest possible discretionary powers should be left to the new governor for several reasons. Caution was required "to mask from France and Spain the ultimate views of reconnecting the Empire." Even in the interests of the remaining colonies alone "much must be committed to a discreet vigilance on the spot." In order to "mould them with a

⁹*Ibid.*, 2, 4, 5.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 2, 3, 10-11.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 8, 13; P.A.C., Smith Papers, "Powers to the Governor General." See also Shortt and Doughty, *Documents*, 1020, "Proposed Additions to the New Canada Bill."

¹²P.A.C., Smith Papers, Smith to Brook Watson, Nov. 8, 1787; *ibid.*, same to same, Oct. 24, 1788.

British colony" changes should be made gradually "with a wise regard to time and temper." "An arrangement at a distance may be too narrow, and offend, . . . or too broad, and excite hopes . . . which it may be dangerous to disappoint." "The weal of the whole empire"—which assumed the good of all—must be the test, but it must be decided on "without the smallest delay, and under all the advantages of local knowledge" and therefore obviously, not in the British Parliament, or even in London, but by the man on the spot.¹³

In place of detailed legislation Smith suggested "a short alteration of part of the Quebec Act" which would leave all essential arrangements to the royal prerogative. This is a startlingly un-Whiggish suggestion, but the draft of the proposed alteration in his own writing shows that he really meant it. The act would hand the entire "constitution, regulation, and government" of Quebec over to the King and Privy Council. All arrangements made by them were to be valid, and any inconsistent clauses in the Quebec Act were to be thereby annulled. At the very least the time and method of introducing an assembly were to be left entirely to His Majesty's discretion.¹⁴ From the passionate devotee of the British constitution and the former defender of assembly rights it was a surprising suggestion. Smith seems to have been obsessed with the importance of historic evolution and he recalled that the royal prerogative, still significant in Great Britain, had once been, if not all powerful, at least possessed of initiative and responsibility seldom questioned in practice. Regretting the tragic precocity of representative institutions in the old colonies he wanted to develop them in Canada more slowly and more surely in a sound historic tradition.

The tremendous prerogative powers were to be exercised, naturally, by the local governor, or rather by the new "governor-general." It is only reasonable to suppose that Smith found them the less disturbing to his Whig sensibilities, because he mentally vested them in his friend Carleton who would be guided by his own prudent counsels. A dictatorship which might be alarming in other hands would be safe in his own.¹⁵ With adequate legal

¹³"Observations on the Loss of the American Colonies," 16-17.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 15; P.A.C., Smith Papers, "Dr. of an Act to Provide for the Constitution, Regulation, and Government of the Province of Quebec." "Dr. of an Act for the Regulation of the Province of Quebec." The second draft was evidently a modification of the first. See Burt, *Old Province of Quebec*, 426, on this point.

¹⁵Smith took easily to dictatorial methods. The council papers show that he was accustomed to draw up the agenda of a committee meeting in the form of completed

power and material support he was confident of rebuilding the British Empire over the whole continent. This was his real aim; when he drafted acts for the government of Quebec, he was thinking of New York, and looking at North America.

Unfortunately Smith's ideas were not appreciated, and his motives were a matter of grave suspicion. His loyalty was questioned by many. Not only had he lingered long in the enemy camp, but he was accused of doubtful dealings after he had left it.¹⁶ From January, 1786 when he was "called every day to the ministers" supposedly to discuss the affairs of Quebec,¹⁷ until his death nearly eight years later he laboured industriously at plans never completely accepted and often misunderstood. Those eight years were a series of successive fights and failures, in England, in Quebec until the close of 1791, and then in Lower Canada. Yet through all the failure appears a remarkable struggle for the practical expression of the ideas of an imperialist thinker none the less able for being born out of due time.

Smith's first important reverse was in England. The authorities rejected his idea of a conditional repeal of the Quebec Act with prerogative powers exercised by a governor-general. They probably did not even give it serious consideration. They also rejected the idea of an ample commission giving Carleton as governor-general concurrent powers over all the provinces of British North America. By the commission finally granted him he could exercise his functions in any one province, but only in one at a time. Smith and Carleton were reported to have fought hard against this decision, and Carleton may even have threatened to refuse the post under such conditions, but the law officers refused a general commission as unconstitutional.¹⁸ Thus the idea of a generous but inconspicuous transfer of power to Carleton, so strongly urged by Smith, was rejected. Any important change would be effected by specific parliamentary legislation.

Arriving in Canada late in 1786 Smith embarked on the second stage of his crusade to reconstruct the Empire. With Dorchester's

minutes which would later be handed over to the clerk almost unchanged, to be entered in the books as the official record of the meeting. P.A.C., Series S, vol. 40, 124; vol. 41, 12.

¹⁶See A. J. H. Richardson "Chief Justice William Smith and the Haldimand Negotiations" (*Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society*, June, 1941, 84-114); Dominion of Canada, *Report of the Public Archives*, 1889, "Private Diary of General Haldimand," 149, 227.

¹⁷"Private Diary of General Haldimand," 131.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 143, 149, 161.

aid he strove to improve and invigorate the local administration, and to secure through parliamentary action the constitution he had wished to impose merely by parliamentary consent. The first of these undertakings must be passed over although it illustrates very well, both Smith's ideas and his inability to carry them out. He was not and could not be a practical success in Canadian politics. The half English "French party" was bitterly opposed to all change and especially to any with an American flavour. The merchants would support specific moves for Anglicizing laws and institutions, but were totally unable to grasp Smith's continental schemes. Energetic and arrogant, he roused the hostility of the "French" oligarchy without gaining the confidence of their opponents. He felt his isolation; "... my ideas correspond with the views of neither Protestant nor Catholic, British nor Canadian Merchant nor Landholder Loyalist up the River nor on this side of the five new counties, . . ." ¹⁹ but it never occurred to him to modify his views. He never pretended that his sympathies were wholly or even chiefly Canadian. Canadians, or rather Canadian officialdom, resented this and built up the tradition that he was an American traitor. ²⁰

Nor was he more fortunate with the home authorities in the second objective of securing appropriate constitutional legislation. Convinced that representative government should only be given when safely guarded by the monarchical and aristocratic elements, he soon decided that Quebec was no place for it at the moment. The British government had refused to build up the royal prerogative in their governor, and the local aristocracy, poor and ignorant for the most part, were the least influential class in the community. Smith began by hinting to his old friend, Brook Watson, now an alderman in London, a member of Parliament, and a reputed authority on Canadian affairs that "this colony . . . the darkest corner of the Dominion" was unfitted for a type of government intended only for "an enlightened people." A year later, when, at Lord Dorchester's request, he drafted the despatch in answer to Sydney's hasty inquiries of September 3, 1788, he expressed himself with much caution, but showed a definite bias

¹⁹P.A.C., Smith Papers, Smith to Brook Watson, Oct. 24, 1788. See also *ibid.*, same to same, Nov. 8, 1787.

²⁰Series B, vol. 78, 198, Mathews to Haldimand, Sept. 7, 1786; *ibid.*, vol. 77, 101, same to same, Oct. 24, 1788; *ibid.*, 33, Mahane to Haldimand, Mar. 21, 1788; *ibid.*, 214, Christie to Haldimand, July 3, 1789; *ibid.*, C.O. 42, vol. 21, 269, Peters to Nepean, June 9, 1792.

against the division of the province and the grant of an assembly. Dorchester toned down the letter and omitted large sections particularly directed against the assembly. Smith had to accept the amendments, but he promptly included the rejected portions in a private letter to Brook Watson, evidently hoping that he might be able to bring a useful influence to bear.²¹ His representations had no effect, and early in 1790 he knew that each part of the divided colony was to receive the dangerous gift of an assembly.

Smith set himself to guard against the danger by revising his scheme for a general government which would give Dorchester, by act of Parliament, some of the wide powers not granted in his commission; and might build up monarchical prestige and the aristocratic element as a counterbalance to the new democracy. His letter to Lord Dorchester in February, 1790, like most of his letters to Brook Watson shows that he still had in mind the importance of American hopes and fears.²² Once again he failed. Grenville omitted from the Constitutional Act all provision for a general government, perhaps from practical motives; or a real suspicion of the motives of the author may have caused the rejection of ideas once favoured.²³

There was another trial in the next year—the departure of Lord Dorchester for England in August, 1791. Smith was left to face many enemies, without his one powerful and faithful ally, at the moment of launching the new constitution which fell so far short of his desires.²⁴ Lieutenant-Governor Clarke was kindly but rather weak;²⁵ he had very great respect for Smith's legal abilities, but probably not much liking or esteem for the man

²¹Shortt and Doughty, *Documents*, 954, 958, Sydney to Dorchester, Sept. 3, 1788, Dorchester to Sydney, Nov. 8, 1788; P.A.C., Smith Papers, "Dr. Letter requested by L. Dorchester for his to L. Sydney, November 7, 1788," Smith to Brook Watson, Nov. 7, 1788. See also *ibid.*, Smith's letters to Brook Watson of Nov. 7, 1787, and Oct. 24, 1788, and Series B, vol. 77, 90, Deschambault to Haldimand, Oct. 1, 1788.

²²Shortt and Doughty, *Documents*, 1018, Smith to Dorchester, Feb. 5, 1790.

²³On the geographic obstacles to a general government see Burt, *Old Province of Quebec*, 431. But the United States had achieved such a government, and Smith anticipated a very rapid settlement of the Eastern Townships.

²⁴For comments on Smith's influence over Dorchester see Series B, vol. 77, 24, 95, Mahane to Haldimand, Feb. 25 and July 31, 1788; C.O. 42, vol. 21, 269, Peters to Nepean, June 9, 1792; New York Historical Society, Samuel Peters Papers, vol. V, 33, Peters to [Simcoe?]. There is an interesting illustration of its operation in the minutes of the Executive Council, vol. E-1, 58, 78-84.

²⁵Series S, vol. 41, 37, Finlay to Caldwell, Feb. 20, 1793.

himself.²⁶ He may have been led by the attitude of the authorities at home to deal cautiously with the chief justice. This attitude was certainly strengthened by the arrival at Quebec in the fall of 1792 of James Monk, a former ally of Smith, dismissed by Sydney from his office of attorney-general in 1789, but now reinstated in that post by Dundas. Monk was on confidential terms with Nepean, and on very friendly ones with Clarke,²⁷ but instead of resuming his old relations with Smith he became a dangerous professional and political rival. The dignity of his position as chief justice and senior councillor, added to his own energy and ability, assured Smith a commanding voice in the government, but his position was being constantly challenged and he was failing in health.²⁸

In spite of these difficulties he continued to fight stubbornly in defence of his ideas. He had not wanted to see a fragmented British North America given over to the whims of local assemblies but with the advantage of experience he might be able to mitigate the evil. He would begin by laying sound foundations for the new constitution through particular stress on the royal prerogative, and a general insistence on a strict observance of English law and custom. At the same time, he would try to build for the future an aristocracy of wealth and talent which would ally itself with the Crown to defend the law and keep democratic anarchy in check. If such a model of the British system could be created in the "dark corner" where he found himself Smith felt he need not despair, even now, of the ultimate "reconnection of the Empire." This determination led him into a series of legal controversies which, seen separately, look like factious quibbling. Taken together, however, they reveal a consistent policy steadily pursued even in apparently trifling matters.

The importance of the royal prerogative was always in Smith's mind. The conviction formed in England that colonial governments should grow from that foundation had been confirmed by his residence in the Province of Quebec. In 1792 after the Constitutional Act had come into force, he tried to anticipate the activities of the assembly by a reorganization of the courts of justice through royal instructions to the lieutenant-governor. "The royal prerogative being very competent it ought not to be

²⁶See the series of letters from Monk to Nepean in P.A.C., Series Q, vol. 66, 224, 266, 268, 283, 291, 296, 312, 318.

²⁷Series Q, vol. 62, 74, Clarke to Dundas, Feb. 2, 1793.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 74, Clarke to Dundas, Feb. 2, 1793.

left to the new legislature" he wrote to Dorchester now arrived in England. He went on to state in detail what should be the royal plan,²⁹ but Dundas, perhaps more from timidity and indifference than from any democratic leaning, preferred to leave the matter to the legislature.

Even more important to Smith was the policy of freeing the governor from any local oligarchy by multiplying the offices in his gift, and by increasing his control over all local officials, even those appointed in England. Before 1791 Smith had done much to increase the governor's local patronage in the courts of request.³⁰ The matter of controlling officials appointed in England is dealt with in a new clause introduced apparently for the first time into Dorchester's commission of 1791. The governor is granted "full power and authority in case any . . . persons . . . appointed by us to any offices within . . . Upper Canada or Lower Canada . . . shall in your opinion be unfit to continue in our service to suspend or remove such . . . persons . . . without stating to them your reasons for such suspension or removal." As no comment on this novel clause has been found it is impossible to say whether Smith had a hand in it. It is certainly typical of his policy, and there is evidence both that it was new in his experience, and that he took a special interest in the commission of 1791.³¹

In the preparations for inaugurating the new representative institutions Smith took an active part, determined as far as possible to make democracy safe for the British Empire. The province having been divided by proclamation on May 7, 1792, the Executive Council of Lower Canada turned to the business of summoning the legislature. Hugh Finlay, acting provincial secretary in the absence of George Pownall, was appointed to the office of clerk of the Crown in Chancery, with all powers and

²⁹P.A.C., Smith Papers, Smith to Dorchester, Jan. 10, 1792.

³⁰*Ibid.*, Smith to Dorchester, Nov. 2, 1792. H. Neatby, *Administration of Justice under the Quebec Act* (Minnesota, 1937), 275-82.

³¹P.A.C., Quebec Commissions, Dec., 1775-Nov., 1797, 81; P.A.C., Smith Papers, "Analysis of Gov^r Commission of 12 September, 1791." It is possible that this clause was inspired by the Livius affair (Burt, *Old Province of Quebec*, 267-75) but, if so, it might have been expected in the commission of 1786. It was evidently rare, if not unknown, in the American colonies, for Smith remarks, in his history of New York, that colonial governors enjoy "a vast plenitude of power," and quotes as evidence the commission of Sir Danvers Osborne, which gives the governor a much less complete control over office holders than Dorchester received in 1791. William Smith, *History of New York* (New York, 1829), I, 350-61.

privileges appropriate to such an office, and with the special duty of issuing writs and other instruments to legislative councillors and returning officers. Needless to say the creation of the new office was advised by Smith and the various writs and commissions were carefully drafted by him, exactly on English models.³² The writs to legislative councillors followed exactly the wording and form ("a close writ [which] must have a Label") of those issued to British peers. This later called forth much caustic comment from Smith's successor as chief justice, William Osgoode, who insisted that such writs went far to grant an hereditary right to a seat, and questioned their validity under the Constitutional Act.³³

So far everything had gone smoothly, but trouble began in June when Pownall returned from England to find that he had to share the use of the Great Seal with the newly created clerk in Chancery.³⁴ He apparently complained to Lieutenant-Governor Clarke that, the issuing of election writs being part of his office, the new arrangement was not only an injury to his dignity but an attack on his property. In July Clarke, as if testing his position, casually reported the new office to Dundas. He received in reply a cautiously worded, rather ambiguous letter of approval,³⁵ and Pownall was left unsatisfied and unconvinced.

Possibly Pownall's complaints made Clarke distrustful of Smith, for on the next business connected with the assembly he refused the advice of the chief justice. The elections had taken place in June, after the spring seeding, but, for the convenience of the members, it was proposed to defer the meeting of the legislature until the slack winter season.³⁶ Smith prepared the draft of a writ of prorogation from July 10 to November 20. Clarke accepted the writ, but insisted on amending the date, stating his intention of proroguing by successive writs at intervals

³²Series S, vol. 40, 54, 66; P.A.C., State Book A, 82-97.

³³C.O. 42, vol. 22, 14, 38, Osgoode to King, May 29, 1795, Feb. 19, 1796.

³⁴Series S, vol. 40, 84. Pownall had formerly been an ally of Smith according to Alexander Fraser, who states that he was "of inferior understanding" with "nothing but his birth to boast of, . . . the most despicable character in every respect and so addicted to falsehood that not a word he says can be believed." Series Q, vol. 43, 800-1, Fraser to Nepean, Oct. 31, 1786.

³⁵Series Q, vol. 59, 591, 597. As Clarke had written three times to Dundas since May 7 without mentioning the new position, it is reasonable to suppose that it was Pownall's complaint that led him to do so in July. *Ibid.*, 358, 393, 472.

³⁶*Ibid.*, 591, Clarke to Dundas, July 2, 1792.

of thirty or forty days, which he took to be English custom.³⁷ Smith, unable to convert Clarke to his constitutional views, wrote on the back of the amended draft, for the benefit of posterity, a characteristic protest: "There is no necessity for repeating it every 40 days. It is taken from a precedent in Qu. Eliz's Reign that prorogues from 12 Nov^r., the day first fixed to 4 Feby following when the Queen actually met her Parliam't."³⁸

It was after the arrival of Monk in October that Smith's position became really difficult. The rivalry of these one time allies has already been mentioned. From the day he received his commission³⁹ the attorney-general offered a constant opposition to the chief justice, who showed no disposition to turn the other cheek. Major disputes in October and early November led on to a rivalry which only ended with Smith's death.

The first great quarrel was over the Chancery business.⁴⁰ Monk supported Pownall's view that colonial custom required election writs to be issued from the office of the provincial secretary; that there was no need for a Chancery office in the colony; and that if a special commission were needed for issuing election writs it should be made to the provincial secretary as a clerk of the Crown, with a specific description and limitation of his duties, rather than a general reference to an English office.

These views were placed before Clarke with such effect that he required Monk to prepare an official opinion and recommendations, to be laid before the council. He wished also for an opinion from Jenkin Williams as solicitor-general, but excused him on the ground that being recently elevated to the bench he had really retired from his other duties. Monk's opinion, however, and the commission he proposed for the clerk of the Crown were sent to Smith on Tuesday, October 30, with the information that the council would be asked to take action on the matter next day. Smith's defence of his Chancery procedure, part of which is found only in his private letter to Lord Dorchester, is so

³⁷State Book A, 108-9; *Journals of the Legislative Council, 1792-4* (Quebec, 1802), Dec. 17, 1792, 18-24.

³⁸P.A.C., "Papers of the Council, 1792, Lower Canada."

³⁹Oct. 16, 1792. Series S, vol. 40, 105, 106.

⁴⁰The story of the dispute over the Chancery office has been reconstructed mainly from four documents in the Smith Papers: "Draft of a Commission to a Clerk of the Crown," Oct. 29, 1792; "Note to Mr. Secretary Coffin on Mr. Monk's report . . .," Oct. 30, 1792; "Wednesday 31 October 1792" (Notes on the Council proceedings of the day. Possibly a fragment of Smith's famous diary); Smith to Dorchester, Nov. 2, 1792. Some important papers have not been found, but the outline of the incident is clear.

typical of his general attitude that it should be considered in detail. To him the whole principle of colonial government was at stake.

The Chancery office was defended first on the ground of British precedent; "... the *general principle* is sound vizt that it is decent wise and safe to copy the British example; and that there are cogent reasons for not considering the practice of the colonies and provinces as a standard." Colonial practice had often been dangerously informal; some assemblies (horrible thought!) had been prorogued under the governor's watch seal. The pecuniary value of the new office was trifling, "but whether a colony shall imitate the government of the kingdom it is connected with, will always be a question of importance." Even if the arrangement did seem to have "a Jamaica tincture," "we thought such a precedent nothing against the example of England."⁴¹ "If all the Branches of the Legislature might take the British for a model they can't err, and . . . if they do not, they will find a *worse*"—he hopes not the French or American where the parliamentary system is renounced for "a ruinous democracy."

Smith's second argument in favour of the Chancery office was the old one of the importance of increasing local patronage.⁴² He pointed out that in early colonial days everything was done through the provincial secretary's office, there being neither fit candidates for other offices, nor the means for their support. "It is quite otherwise when a country is out of its infancy and it becomes expedient to increase a dependance on the Crown as a counter balance to that spirit of democracy always rising in the Provinces and the more formidable for want of royal patronage and that aristocracy essential to the British constitution." The "civil officers" he goes on, are "as a Band of household Troops to the Crown." They should be increased whenever it can be done without burdening the country as they form the greatest protection of Crown and subject against the pretensions of a local oligarchy until the happy time when "we have a real aristocracy."

There is little doubt of Smith's sincerity, although his warmth was no doubt increased by a picture of the royal power being

⁴¹The Jamaica assembly had developed an extraordinary degree of independence (M.P. Clarke, *Parliamentary Procedure in the American Colonies*, Yale, 1943, chap. II). Clarke, who had served there as governor had apparently used Jamaica as a warning against too much of the British system. It is characteristic of Smith that he continues to insist that what is needed is not less British law but more.

⁴²See above 52, n. 30.

exercised by himself (after Dorchester's return) against a local oligarchy composed of his familiar foes. Clarke was probably more impressed by the warmth than the sincerity. In spite of respect for Smith's law, and dread of Smith's oratory, he inclined to follow, with his friend Monk, the safe road of colonial precedent. When he met the council on Wednesday, October 31,⁴³ he announced that he was still uneasy about Finlay's Chancery office. It had become necessary (by his forty-day system) to issue a fresh writ of prorogation to the newly elected assembly. Laying on the table a writ on parchment, complete with the great seal, he said that he had decided to drop the Chancery procedure. The writ would be issued from Pownall's office, and over his signature, unless the chief justice declared such a course to be contrary to law. Smith replied that this was a constitutional rather than a strictly legal question, and that he held Clarke's proposed course to be unconstitutional because inconsistent with English precedent. The point was too subtle for the lieutenant-governor. A long debate followed during which, we are told, all kept their tempers most creditably, but Clarke got completely out of his depth. When the meeting had somehow adjourned itself without action, Williams, the clerk, very naturally asked to whom the writ should be taken for signature? The lieutenant-governor "said he would give no direction, he had a confidence he would do right." Williams having repeated in vain his question, quietly carried the writ to Finlay.⁴⁴ At the moment the chief justice seemed to be in the ascendant; Williams had good reason for avoiding a quarrel with him.

Smith had won the Chancery battle, but Monk had a partial revenge in the subsequent debate over the forms of commissions to officers of the legislature—the speaker of the council, the clerks, black rod, and the sergeant-at-arms. The chief justice drafted the commissions, stressing the English model, and with careful citations from English parliamentary records. The speaker of the Legislative Council was empowered "to do and execute all such things as our Chancellor or Keeper of our Great Seal of Great Britain in our Parliament there might in that behalf do when personally present . . . using and supplying in . . . the Province the same Room and Place"; the other commissions

⁴³Only Smith, Finlay, and Baby were present, with Jenkin Williams as clerk. State Book A, 220.

⁴⁴*Journals of the Legislative Council, 1792-4, Dec. 17, 1792, 22-5.*

are drawn on the same principle.⁴⁵ The final form of the speaker's commission, however, confines him to "... all and such things as to the said Office of Speaker of our Legislative Council doth of right appertain and belong," and the other commissions are equally restrained.⁴⁶ Monk reported the matter in one of his intimate letters to Nepean: "... the Chief Justice prepared the draft of the commissions and laboured to convey by them all the rights and usages of the Parliam't of Great Britain. . . . The Lieut. Governor has cautiously avoided this and left the Leg^r and the offices to seek such Colonial Rights as may be found under the Law and Constitution of Canada."⁴⁷ Warned by the Chancery affair Clarke was evidently now endeavouring, with Monk's help, to stick by the old colonial system.

The office of speaker of the Legislative Council, however, raised another issue on which Clarke after some hesitation was persuaded to yield. Smith as chief justice was naturally appointed speaker of the council. In discussing the matter with Clarke he advised that a deputy speaker be commissioned at the same time, to act when he should be ill, or absent on judicial duty. Once more Clarke felt "uneasy"—a condition that Smith's ideas seldom failed to induce in him. The statute, he said, did not seem to warrant two commissions for one office. Was there no other solution? There is some evidence that the dispute went far enough either for Smith to threaten to refuse the speakership, or for Clarke to consider bestowing it elsewhere.⁴⁸ The lieutenant-governor, however, was finally overawed by the familiar argument of prerogative *versus* democracy. In England, Smith informed him, the Chancellor is speaker *ex officio*. The Crown provides for his absence by a speaker acting by commission, failing which the lords elect one. In the interest of the royal prerogative such elections should be avoided: "The Statute leaves the appointment to the Crown. As the Prerogative has a *double choice* in England and there is nothing in the statute against it *now* it is a question worth considering whether it is not of moment to prevent an election to run in a *single* Instance against the claim of the prerogative. It may happen in *an hour*."⁴⁹ The King's representa-

⁴⁵P.A.C., Smith Papers, "Commission to Speaker of Legislative Council"; "Commission to Clerk of Black Rod."

⁴⁶State Book A, 263-8. *Journals of the Legislative Council*, 1792-4, Dec. 17, 1792.

⁴⁷Series Q, vol. 66, 261, Monk to Nepean, Jan. 3, 1793.

⁴⁸New York Public Library, Smith Papers, 198-206, Clarke to Smith, Nov. 19, 1792.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, Smith to Clarke, Nov. 19, 1792.

tive evidently felt that the prerogative must not be thus slighted. He commissioned a permanent deputy speaker, but he delayed doing so until February, 1793 when Smith's absence made some measure immediately necessary; and Smith's friend Finlay who had seniority in the council was passed over in favour of Thomas Dunn, a man of no decided political leanings, but certainly not a follower of the chief justice.⁵⁰

The legislature met for the first time on December 17, 1792. The journals of the council, scanty as they are, suggest that Smith continued his campaign for the complete unadulterated British system. The interesting question of parliamentary privilege came up on the first day. J. A. Panet, newly elected speaker of the assembly, on being received by the lieutenant-governor in the presence of both houses "claimed" "freedom of speech and generally all the like Privileges and Liberties as are enjoyed by the Commons of Great Britain, Our Mother Country." Clarke, cautious as ever, answered by granting "all just Rights and lawful Privileges." There is no direct evidence on the matter, but it seems very likely that Panet was instructed by Smith. The wording of the request, by colonial custom unusual and perhaps unique,⁵¹ is completely typical of the views of the latter. Colonial speakers generally asked the "usual privileges," before proceeding to name them in detail. This procedure was followed by the speaker of the assembly of Upper Canada in 1792. Whether or not colonial assemblies had a right to the complete parliamentary privileges enjoyed in Great Britain, had been a matter of debate in the colonies, the right being sometimes admitted by governors, and sometimes denied. At the same time some colonial assemblies demanded, or used without demanding, privileges not enjoyed by the British House of Commons. There was also a tendency in many colonies to assume privileges as an "inherent right" rather than as a claim under the constitution.⁵² If, then, Smith worded Panet's request, he might well have intended not only to secure commons privileges, but to limit the assembly to those and no more; and Clarke, by avoiding any reference to the British model

⁵⁰*Journals of the Legislative Council, 1792-4*, Feb. 18; Series S, vol. 41, 37, Finlay to Caldwell, Feb. 20, 1793.

⁵¹For a detailed discussion of practices before 1783 see Clarke, *Parliamentary Procedure in the American Colonies*, 61-82. Many speakers' petitions are cited, but not one makes such a direct demand for British custom and nothing but British custom.

⁵²*Ibid.*, 61 ff.

and promising "just rights" was being more reckless than he knew in that age of revolutionary doctrines.

The British custom of opening the daily business with prayers, was introduced to the council by the chief justice. The assembly tacitly dispensed with the ceremony, perhaps because of the delicacy of the religious question, but the Presbyterian Smith, though abused as an inveterate foe of episcopacy, was completely unembarrassed. He put through the council a resolution sanctioning prayers "after the Parliamentary example," and requesting the Roman Catholic bishop and the Anglican rector in Quebec to produce "a short prayer conceived in the devotion common to the Christian Church whether Protestant or Catholic." The bishop rose to the occasion and was pleased to approve a prayer then in use in the British House of Commons.⁵³

In another matter of parliamentary procedure Smith made an unwilling concession to democratic forms. Among the rules of procedure adopted by the Legislative Council on January 28 was one providing, among other things, that messengers from the assembly were expected to approach the bar with obeisances which would be received by the council seated. A few days later a message was sent up from the assembly (whether with obeisances is not recorded) suggesting a simpler procedure and stating bluntly that if the members of the council would rise to receive messages from the assembly, members of the assembly were prepared to return the compliment. On receiving this message the council went into committee. The report later presented by Finlay, but certainly dictated by Smith, for it echoed his very phrases,⁵⁴ recommended a close adherence to British usage as seen in the practice of the House of Lords, which is described in detail, down to the last obeisance. Having further remarked that the council proposals adopt the British usage and that adoption of those of the assembly "will be a deviation from the parliamentary manner," the report goes on to propose another list of rules which, apart from some small details, adopts all the suggestions of the assembly!

This curious report is more than a childish refusal to make an open confession of defeat. It stands for Smith's faith in the future. He might now have to submit unwillingly to irregular, democratic forms, but he delivered his soul by leaving on the

⁵³*Journals of the Legislative Council*, 1792-4, Jan. 12, 22, 76, 92.

⁵⁴P.A.C., Smith Papers, "Note to Mr. Secretary Coffin . . . Oct. 30, 1792"; *Journals of the Legislative Council*, 1792-4, Feb. 6, 120.

council books a clear statement of sound policy and correct procedure.⁵⁵

Smith did not live to see a second meeting of the legislature which he had laboured so perseveringly to establish on sound foundations. Yet, in this last year or two of his life he was pursuing another great object—the development of the aristocracy which he saw as a necessary element of the constitution. His views on aristocracy are in harmony with his wealthy, intellectually tolerant New York background. He had no illusions on the efficacy either of birth, or of a royal patent of nobility. Aristocracy existed simply by virtue of possessing the three sources of political power—"property . . . knowledge, and virtue, or the reputation for it."⁵⁶ He was as much opposed to the exclusive religious and racial views of Château Clique or Family Compact as he was to unbridled democracy, and this opposition stands out clearly on two or three occasions.

His sincere desire to meet French Canadians and Roman Catholics on terms of equality appeared on the occasion of the inauguration of the new Executive Council under the Constitutional Act. By an unfortunate oversight, the instructions accompanying the act, which regulated the oaths to be taken by various officials, made special arrangements for Roman Catholic members of the assembly and Legislative Council only, omitting all mention of the Executive Council. Roman Catholics who had been nominated to this last body by the home authorities were thus placed in a curious dilemma. It was their duty to assume their functions but as the law stood they could not conscientiously do so.⁵⁷

The chief justice, when consulted, felt real doubts about the law and advised taking legal opinions from Williams as solicitor-general, and others who might be consulted in the absence of an attorney-general.⁵⁸ He thought the Roman Catholic members should not be urged to transgress the law by taking their seats irregularly. At the same time, their absence might stop all business for want of a quorum, as well as being highly objection-

⁵⁵*Journal of the House of Assembly, 1793*, Feb. 2, 5, 7, 202 ff.; *Journals of the Legislative Council, 1792-4*, Jan. 28, Feb. 4, 6, 102 ff.

⁵⁶P.A.C., Smith Papers, Smith to Brook Watson, Nov. 7, 1788.

⁵⁷The instructions specifically required the oath under the Test Act from all executive councillors, in Article 2, but Article 3 does seem to give general permission to Roman Catholics to substitute the oath of the Quebec Act before assuming "offices . . . of trust or profit." A. G. Doughty and D. A. McArthur, *Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1791-1818* (Ottawa, 1914), 33-4.

⁵⁸Monk had not yet arrived to succeed Gray who died in 1790.

able in raising the religious issue.⁵⁹ Unfortunately "the Law Doctors differed,"⁶⁰ and the matter stood over until December 26, 1791 when the new council met for the first time. Following the usual procedure, the governor's commission was read publicly, and Clarke took the oaths of office. The doors of the council chamber were then closed for the private ceremony of swearing in the councillors. The lieutenant-governor, in unhappy hesitation, asked the Roman Catholics, St. Ours, Baby, and Longueuil to stand aside until, the others being sworn in, he could require of them a formal opinion. Smith had now arrived at a happy solution of the problem. Eagerly seeking a loop-hole in the law, he had been struck during the public reading of the commission by "the clause providing for the administration in the absence of the Governor and Lt Governor by such eldest Councillor as was a natural born subject and not a papist." Obviously such a provision assumed that "papists" might be councillors. All doubts being thus settled, the three French-Canadian members were sworn in and took their places "with infinite satisfaction."⁶¹

When writing of the incident to Dorchester, Smith mentions also the annoyance he felt at the policy—no doubt well meant—of drawing up the council list in London with French and English names alternating. This meant that when the members were seated at the long council table in order of seniority to right and left of the chair, a solid row of English faced a solid row of French. As the chief justice said it was "most awkward"; it was a trifle which, acting as a chronic irritant could assume mountainous proportions. Favouring as Smith did ultimate Anglicization, he wanted it not by artificial distinctions or discriminations but by a natural preponderance of numbers and superiority of institutions. The first was a matter of hope, the second an article of faith.

Closely related to Smith's opposition to religious and racial discrimination was his determination to oppose in Canada any exclusive identification of the Church of England with the state. This issue came up in the fall of 1792 over the tithes question which was to drag on for nearly a decade.⁶² About the time of

⁵⁹P.A.C., Smith Papers, Smith to T. A. Coffin, Dec. 19, 1791.

⁶⁰New York Public Library, Smith Papers, 198-206, Smith to Dorchester, Jan. 3, 1792.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, Series Q, vol. 58, 78, Clarke to Dundas, Jan. 11, 1792.

⁶²For a calendar of much interesting source material on this question see A. R. Kelley, "Jacob Mountain: A Summary of his Correspondence . . ." (*Archives de Québec*, 1942-3).

the Chancery quarrel in October, the rector and churchwardens of Christ Church, Montreal, petitioned to be constituted into a rectory under the constitutional act "but without subjecting them . . . to the payment either of tithes or parish rates."⁶³ The matter was turned over to Monk as attorney-general for an opinion, and a charter of incorporation. Monk reported that no charter carrying exemption from tithes would be legal under the act. Smith disagreed with his usual vigour, and Clarke with his usual lack of vigour, asked Monk for another opinion.⁶⁴ The course of the dispute is a little obscure, but eventually the matter was turned over to a committee of the whole council, with the chief justice in the chair. Monk, meanwhile, had discovered, or caused to be discovered, a despatch from Dundas authorizing the collection of tithes,⁶⁵ which was referred to the committee. Smith, however, was not the man to be put off by a despatch from Dundas. The records of the first committee meeting show him undertaking to prove with numerous citations, that tithes in Canada must rest on French law; and that under this law there was considerable doubt what parts of the country and what articles were tithable. A suggestion that the whole Jesuit estates question might also be involved⁶⁶ did nothing to simplify the issue. A day was then set for the committee to hear the attorney-general and the Christ Church people by their counsel, but the meeting, several times postponed by order of the chief justice, was in the end never held at all because he "forgot to come" on the appointed day.⁶⁷

Monk accused Smith not only of misinterpreting the law, but of deliberately shelving the committee meeting to serve his own ends. The second accusation may have been well-founded; the first is decidedly open to question. Monk based his case on Dorchester's instructions,⁶⁸ and on the letter of Dundas already mentioned. But Dundas wrongly assumed that the right to collect tithes from Protestants apparently granted by the Quebec Act, had really been exercised. Sewell, Monk's successor as

⁶³Series S, vol. 40, 112.

⁶⁴Series Q, vol. 69, 375, memorandum (Monk) Nov. 5, 1793.

⁶⁵Shortt and Doughty, *Documents*, 1028-30, Dundas to Dorchester, Sept. 16, 1791; Series Q, vol. 66, 261, Monk to Nepean, Jan. 3, 1793.

⁶⁶Christ Church, Montreal, was Jesuit property.

⁶⁷Series Q, vol. 69, 375.

⁶⁸Article 43, section 5, Doughty and McArthur, *Documents*, 33.

attorney-general, adopted Smith's views,⁶⁹ and held both tithes and church rates inadmissible under existing law. However, Bishop Mountain, encouraged by Monk re-opened the matter which dragged on until July, 1799 when Portland wrote flatly to Milnes that the law did not authorize the collection of tithes.⁷⁰ For once the home authorities were in agreement with Smith, although the latter had not lived to enjoy the unusual experience.

On another matter, this time a trifling one, the chief justice showed himself quick to resent any suggestion of ecclesiastical authority by the clergy of the Church of England in Canada. In March, 1793, Charles Inglis of Nova Scotia, the only Anglican bishop in British North America, sent Clarke forms of prayer for the lieutenant-governor and legislature asking that orders be given for their use in all churches. Clarke referred the matter to a committee of the council whose report was written by Smith, very likely before the meeting. It explains that the worship of the Church of England is established by act of parliament, and alterations though suggested "by the piety of her bishops" are made only by the King as head of the church. The committee applaud and venerate the piety of the Bishop of Nova Scotia and sympathize with his devout sentiments, but feel themselves unable thus to encroach on the royal supremacy. When Smith's cloudy phrases are reduced to every day speech the report is little more than a blunt invitation to Inglis to mind his own business.⁷¹ The council minutes, with the prayers and the protest, found their way to England where Dundas proposed to lay the matter before the Privy Council, but if he did so, there is no record of it.⁷² Meanwhile Upper Canada and the maritime colonies, uninstructed on the true constitution of the Church of England meekly adopted the bishop's prayers.⁷³

These few incidents show that Smith had no interest in an aristocracy based on racial or religious exclusiveness which later became an issue in both the Canadas. His ultimate interest being stability and good government, his system was founded on the

⁶⁹There is evidence that he also borrowed Smith's arguments. See Series Q, vol. 74, 203-6, 222-9. He married Harriet Smith in 1796.

⁷⁰Series Q, vol. 82, 288, Portland to Milnes, July 24, 1799.

⁷¹Series S, vol. 41, 67; State Book A, 378-81.

⁷²Series Q, vol. 65, 350, Dundas to Dorchester, Nov. 9, 1793.

⁷³E. A. Cruikshank (ed.), *The Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe with Allied Documents* (4 vols., Toronto, 1923-6), IV, 353, V, 36; Series Q, vol. 282-1, 215. There is evidence that Bishop Mountain later accepted Smith's stand on a similar question. *Archives de Québec*, 1942-3, 208.

view, old as western political thought, that power goes with property, and stable property produces stable power. The French-Canadian aristocracy on which Carleton had relied he dismissed as useless because its members were poor.⁷⁴ His whole aristocratic policy rested on filling the vacant lands of Lower Canada with desirable settlers—English Protestants if possible, but any men of property and education would be welcome to receive large grants and fill them with tenants.⁷⁵ He took a particularly active interest in the problem of French *émigrés* because he thought they might be desirable settlers.⁷⁶

His anxiety to fill up the lands quickly involved him in yet another legal controversy, this time directly with the home government. The rapid settlement of lands would inevitably involve problems of naturalization and citizenship. Smith's colonial experience taught him that naturalization should be simple and easy, in justice to individuals, and also in the general interests of property. His governmental scheme of 1785 gave powers of naturalization to the governor as the best judge of local conditions. Much later he inspired a special despatch from Dorchester to Grenville suggesting that powers of naturalization be conferred on the assembly as he understood that to be the colonial custom.⁷⁷ The instructions of 1791, however, specifically reserved naturalization to the home government.⁷⁸

The matter came up again in 1792 when preparations for summoning the legislature revealed that many individuals domiciled in the province would have no legal right to vote or sit.⁷⁹ Smith was even more concerned to ensure that the many more who might come in from France, the French West Indies, or elsewhere, should receive due encouragement. He drafted a letter for Clarke, repeating the suggestion he had formerly made through Dorchester that powers of naturalization should be granted to the

⁷⁴P.A.C., Smith Papers, Smith to Brook Watson, Nov. 7, 1788.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, Smith to Ryland, Nov. 4, 1788.

⁷⁶Series S, vol. 41, 40-5, 55-66. Land settlement and land speculation were life-long interests of Smith, and may have been, in part at least, the inspiration as well as the outcome of his political views. I am indebted to Mr. A. J. H. Richardson of the Public Archives, Ottawa for much information which seems to support this view. See also his article cited above p. 48.

⁷⁷Series Q, vol. 46, 2, Dorchester to Grenville, Sept. 25, 1790; P.A.C., Smith Papers, Dorchester to Grenville, Sept. 19, 1790.

⁷⁸Doughty and McArthur, *Documents*, 38.

⁷⁹Series Q, vol. 58, 231 and enclosed memorial, 233, Clarke to Dundas, Mar. 10, 1793.

province, according to colonial custom.⁸⁰ Grenville replied bluntly that Clarke could see by his instructions that naturalization was reserved to the imperial authorities.⁸¹

The interesting point here is that Smith, in his zeal for desirable immigrants not only failed to remind Clarke to read his instructions, but cited colonial precedent, which he usually scorned, and cited it rather dishonestly.⁸² The incident no doubt added to the suspicions of those who already doubted his loyalty. The reckless statement of Chief Justice Osgoode was probably an accurate reflection of the position of his opponents: "The language of Mr. Smith was that you ought in a rising colony to adopt every citizen that offers altho he was seen in arms against government the preceding day."⁸³

If a generous and intelligent immigration policy would help to create a propertied class, an equally generous and intelligent education policy would be needed to provide the two other pillars of power—"knowledge and virtue, or the reputation for it." Smith, even before his arrival in the colony, had been interested in its higher education and he continued to work hard on a scheme for a non-sectarian university as long as he lived.⁸⁴

In the legislature during the winter of 1793 he followed up previous efforts to secure the Jesuit estates for the endowment of this university. Petitions asking the home government for financial aid were put through the Legislative Council and Assembly by his influence.⁸⁵ He also, not having secured quite all

⁸⁰P.A.C., Smith Papers, Clarke to Dundas, Aug., 1792; P.A.C., Series Q, vol. 60, 10, Clarke to Dundas, Aug. 11, 1792.

⁸¹Series Q, vol. 60, 212, Grenville to Clarke, Nov. 8, 1792. See also on this question the ideas of Monk, *ibid.*, vol. 61, 468, 444, vol. 66, 266; the opinion of the English law officers, State Book A, 221; and the successful shelving of the immediate problem, Series Q, vol. 63, 30, Clarke to Dundas, July 3, 1793.

⁸²The only important act of naturalization to be found in the New York statutes received the assent of Governor Hunter only because a five-year revenue act was made conditional upon it. Hunter protested that he ought to reserve the act, but the assembly insisted. He reported the matter to London, adding "If I have done amiss I am sorry for't but what was there left me to do, I have been struggling hard for bread itself for five years to no effect and four of them unpittied." *Colonial Laws of the State of New York* (Albany, 1894), I, 858; E. B. O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York* (Albany, 1856-87), V, 416.

⁸³C.O. 42, vol. 22, 87, Osgoode to King, undated.

⁸⁴P.A.C., Smith Papers, "Powers to the Governor General," *ibid.*, Smith to John Ryland, Nov. 4, 1788; Burt, *Old Province of Quebec*, 464-7.

⁸⁵*Journal of the Legislative Assembly*, 1792, Mar. 19, 21, 25, Apr. 3, 11, *Journal of the Legislative Council*, 1792-4, Feb. 27, Apr. 9.

he wanted in the council, got through a resolution at the very end of the session authorizing him to conduct a correspondence on the subject with Brook Watson and William Grant.⁸⁶ The draft of a letter in his hand, perhaps never sent, is typical of the educational optimism of his century. Having referred to the "dark state" of education in the province he goes on "... as a tyranny derives support from the ignorance of its slaves, all motives of policy under the constitution now given to the province must be on the side of its general illumination, the security of government being connected with the discernment of its excellence." They are hoping, he says, for the Jesuit estates; they have received the bequest of a seigneurie and are reserving lands near it for an educational grant; what they need now is a "liberal charter" to encourage public donations for "a design equally conducive to piety, beneficence and policy." There is also perhaps a suggestion of continental imperialism in the desire "to expand the light of science among the numerous tribes in the interior parts of the New World."⁸⁷ Instruction "in the sciences" is stressed. Religion and even morals are not mentioned; to Smith they emerged naturally (and undogmatically) from intellectual enlightenment.

The educational scheme was one of Smith's last undertakings. He died on December 6, 1793. His friends sighed at the "blow given to the political interests of Canada" in the loss of his "ability, integrity and experience."⁸⁸ His enemies sighed also, with relief, at the timely loss to "the plotting Yankee factions."⁸⁹

Smith's ideas found little appreciation in his own time. There can have been few Loyalists whose loyalty fell under such deep suspicion. Yet there was probably not one with so sincere a concern for the preservation of the institutions which he identified with freedom and stability. His imperial enthusiasm may be regarded as a mere echo of Burke, but in his approach to the imperial problem he anticipates Durham. Each man viewed the problem of Canadian government in all its aspects, local, continental, and imperial. Each protested at a mongrel constitution, and demanded the very essence of the British system. Their chief difference lies in the fact that they studied the British model

⁸⁶*Journal of the Legislative Council*, 1792-4, May 3.

⁸⁷P.A.C., Smith Papers, Aug., 1793, no address, unsigned.

⁸⁸P.A.C., Raymond Collection, vol. II.

⁸⁹Cruikshank (ed.), *Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe*, IV, 210, Davison to Simcoe, Mar. 5, 1796.

at different stages of its evolution. Smith, in his day, saw it dominated by an aristocratic element, but respecting the fundamental law which defined rights common to all. He would have agreed with Durham that colonial government was instituted at the wrong end; but to him the right end was the royal prerogative passing through aristocratic leadership to a very carefully groomed democratic element.

Durham, half a century later, saw the colonies in the light of the great British democratic movement, the beginnings of which Smith failed to notice. Oblivious to the very strong aristocratic element then existing in the government of Britain, Durham insisted that self government was the normal instinct of every man (at least if he spoke English) needing only the discipline and experience of local institutions to fit it for the national stage. From the standpoint of the twentieth century it may not be too bold to say that Durham erred almost as much in one direction as Smith did in the other. On certain fundamental principles the two are in striking agreement: the need for the complete British system; the advantage of a large national unit to combat at once narrow provincialism in the colony, and "Mr. Mother Country" in London; the impossibility of considering the government of Canada except in its relation to the United States; and the possibility of developing genuine imperial co-operation within the frame of the constitution.

Smith failed as an effective statesman because he was an imperialist when imperial enthusiasm was at its lowest ebb, and an aristocrat in the New World when aristocracy was passing out even in the old. But, to the observer of the twentieth century, his passionate insistence on law, and on British law, as the safest constitutional foundation, does not seem wholly ridiculous; and in days when "democracies" obediently support their leaders with a 99.4 per cent vote even his careful limitation of the democratic element seems positively liberal.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

COLLINGWOOD'S IDEA OF HISTORY

The Idea of History. By R. G. COLLINGWOOD. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press [Toronto: Oxford University Press]. 1946. Pp. xxvi, 340. (\$6.00)

PHILOSOPHERS have a certain advantage over historians and other folk in that they are more used to thinking in systematic and general terms. Collingwood added to that the ability to write clearly and incisively, a gift all philosophers have not possessed. Perhaps he was too incisive, even dogmatic. His editor refers to this, and certainly Collingwood never hesitated in this book to deliver judgment, whether on historians or philosophers. We may perhaps associate this with his growing ill health, which attacked him some ten years before his death and never left him. Yet he continued to work and write, until his death in 1943 at the age of fifty-two. Thus this volume, like *The Idea of Nature* published last year, is a posthumous production. In that earlier work, Collingwood had, so to speak, cleared the decks for this one. Therein he had surveyed the three great periods of scientific development, the Greek Age, that of the Renaissance, and the Modern Age. His conclusion from this survey was that thought about Nature is in reality a form of history, and dependent upon historical thought. Hence it required for its understanding an explanation of historical thought, and this Collingwood proceeded to work out in the present volume.

The actual genesis and nature of the book are best explained by the editor, Professor T. M. Knox, in the opening words of his preface: "During the first six months of 1936 Collingwood wrote thirty-two lectures on the Philosophy of History. The manuscript falls into two parts, each of which he intended to work up into a book. The first is an historical account of how the modern idea of history has developed from Herodotus to the twentieth century; the second consists of 'metaphysical epilegomena' or philosophical reflections on the nature, subject-matter, and method of history." The first part was later revised, though it still remained a draft, and was given the title the book now has. The second part, to be entitled the "Principles of History," was only a third written. It was to be, in Collingwood's words "a fragment of what I had for twenty-five years looked forward to writing as my chief work." This too, was in draft, and only parts of it are here given, together with two lectures previously separately printed, to form Part V of the present volume. The task of selecting and editing has apparently not been an easy one, and whilst the editor does not enter upon any sustained discussion of the views upon history put forward by the author, he discusses more at length and more critically, Collingwood's general philosophical development, position, and achievement, mingling deep personal affection with frank criticism of what he believes was inconsistent or wrong, and explaining the physical handicaps which marked Collingwood's later years.

Collingwood occupied an unusual, indeed unique, position in English thinking in that he was both historian and philosopher. True, both Bacon and Hume had done something to found such a tradition, although in Bacon the historical writing came after the philosophical. But, if Collingwood is right, English philosophers of recent years, when compared with German and Italian, have concerned themselves relatively little with the problems of history. Collingwood began as an archaeologist and historian, turning then to philosophy (with the *Essay on*

Philosophical Method as his outstanding contribution there, in Professor Knox's judgment), but as his thought developed he turned to the historicism which dominated his later years, in which philosophy and history merge.

Collingwood had a marked independence of mind, and it is characteristic of him that he should attempt in this book what no previous English philosopher or historian has attempted, a systematic if relatively brief survey of thought about history from the Greeks to our own day. It is not a *History of Historical Writing* such as the late professor J. W. Thompson presented a few years ago. Many historians—a Guicciardini, a Michelet, a Treitschke, a Carlyle—are not even mentioned; it is a history of historical thought, and necessarily selective. It is nearer to Croce's illuminating survey of historiography. But whereas Croce follows a well-beaten path of accepted historical periodization—Graeco-Roman, Medieval, Renaissance, Enlightenment, Romantic, Positivist, Collingwood marks out a more individual arrangement. We are told that "the layout of the book and some of its form are due to the editor" (preface, p. v) but the plan is of course Collingwood's and is clearly dictated by the object he had in view. "This book," he declares in the first sentence of a brief introduction, "is an essay in the philosophy of history." Collingwood is concerned to establish the autonomy of history, free from natural science, as a separate and special form of thought, and to define that form.

Looking back from our own day to the beginning of historical writing, he sees (p. 46) three great crises in the history of European historiography. "The first was the crisis of the fifth century B.C. when the idea of history as a science, a form of research, an *istoria*, came into being. The second was the crisis of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. when the idea of history was remodelled by the revolutionary effect of Christian thought." The third crisis is nowhere so specifically defined. But it seems pretty clear that he meant by it the crisis of the subjection of history to natural science in modern times, and the attempt (in which he shared) to establish its independence. Hence the divisions of the historical survey: "Graeco-Roman Historiography"; "The Influence of Christianity"; "The Threshold of Scientific History"; and "Scientific History." Hence too, the balance of the survey, with most of the space given to the modern period, and therein to those thinkers of little more than the last half century who have sought to re-define history in terms of itself and philosophy, rather than in those of natural science. This is the modern crisis, *Die Krisis des Historismus*, as Heussi termed it in a little book of a few years ago in the country where the crisis has been most actively discussed, and where Troeltsch (curiously, unmentioned by Collingwood) expounded its problems, and made his inconclusive and unfinished attempt at its "overcoming." Less than a year ago the Committee on Historiography of the American Social Science Research Council issued a report which Charles Beard opened with a brief discussion of the "dilemma" and the "contradiction" in contemporary thought about history. But neither he nor those who followed him in that report penetrated very far into the problem. A more positive contribution, perhaps, has been that of Lovejoy and others to make what Lovejoy has defined as "an attempt at historical synthesis" in studying the history of ideas. But Heussi concludes his little book by remarking that despite the filling out of history by *Ideengeschichte* there has not resulted a break through from history to philosophy. It is in part that "break through" which Collingwood essays in this volume.

Collingwood's emphasis on the modern period does not imply that he is unmindful of the importance of earlier periods; he is (as is better shown in the

Idea of Nature) too well impregnated with Greek thought for him to underestimate the contribution of Herodotus and Thucydides. Yet Greek thought he sees as too anti-historical (after Herodotus) with its belief in the unchangingness of man; and if it was humanistic it was too rationally so. The coming of Christianity implied the overthrowing of both these beliefs to make history a working out of God's purpose, and on a universal instead of a local scale. It receives a pattern, with a beginning in Creation, and an end. It also receives a time chart from the Creation through the age of darkness to the coming of Christ. Inevitably in this pattern, human history becomes of less importance, and critical methods suffer. And whilst the Renaissance sees a return to more critical historical methods and a partial return to classical views of history as human history, yet "Man for the Renaissance historian was not man as depicted by ancient philosophy . . . but man as depicted by Christian thought."

Nevertheless the idea of history was enlarging, so that Bacon shortly after 1600 in his famous "perambulation of learning" placed it alongside poetry and philosophy as one of the three realms of knowledge. The Cartesian movement although not immediately or closely interested in history, both encouraged more critical methods in its treatment, to be applied by Tillemont and the Bollandists; and also by its evocation of the anti-Cartesian attacks of Vico on the one hand and Locke, Berkeley, and Hume on the other, assisted the general development of historical thought. Vico's contribution, Collingwood analyses a little more closely than that of most other historical thinkers, and he clearly owes a debt to him. For Vico declared in effect, he says (p. 65), that the historian reconstructs the past in his own mind, "in a kind of pre-established harmony" with his subject, based on a common humanity, which is what Collingwood himself believed. Locke's view of knowledge as gained through experience also opened the way in both England and France to an enlargement of historical study as the field of human experience. The actual historical achievement of the historians of the Enlightenment Collingwood rather underestimates, being too conscious of the "polemical" aspect of their work.

With the Romantic movement we reach what the author (or his editor) defines as the "Threshold of Scientific History," stretching from Herder, who is given full credit for adumbrating a view of history as a continuous story of human development from the earliest stages, with all its diversity in different ages and countries, through Kant and Schiller, Fichte and Schelling, to Hegel, Marx, and Positivism. With Hegel's philosophy of history we reach the culmination of the historical movement inaugurated by Herder. Therein Hegel rightly separates history from nature, the one as exhibiting a process of development, the other as self-repeating (since Hegel is unconscious of evolution in nature). But Marx, and Comte with his Positivism, succeeded in restoring the bond between nature and history, subjugating history (as also philosophy) to natural science. And although historians were not entirely degraded to the position of mere fact-finders for arriving at "laws," they became unduly absorbed in the accumulation of facts, and these largely of a political nature, preferring, with Ranke, merely to observe the past "as it actually happened." Which judgment is not entirely just to Ranke, who in nearly sixty years of historical activity was notably to enlarge this definition of his earliest work.

The attribution of the title "Scientific History" to the fourth and final period of Collingwood's survey may seem at first sight a little misleading, since the outstanding feature of this period to him was precisely the emancipation of history

from natural science and the establishment of its autonomy. But this meant to him not that history ceased to be a science (it had always been that) but that it now began to win recognition as a special science in its own right. In this portion of his book dealing with recent and in some cases living thinkers, Collingwood follows the movement of thought by countries, England, Germany, France, and Italy, in that order. The English contribution begins with F. H. Bradley and is followed by Bury ("a perplexed and inconsistent positivist"), Oakeshott, and Toynbee, the last of these representing "a restatement of the positivistic view" of history as a spectacle, a "dead" past as in nature. The German contribution is the richest, from Dilthey's and Windelband's efforts to separate historical from scientific knowledge to the efforts of Rickert, Simmel, and Spengler, to establish the theory and practice of the philosophy of history, and finally E. Meyer's more positivistic position. France, "the native land of positivism," and likewise the country in which it has been most strongly attacked, as in Ravaisson, Lachelier, and Bergson, did not so consciously apply its criticisms to history, although "the idea of history was one of its leading conceptions." For such an application we must look to Italy, and of course above all to Croce.

Croce, long an influence in Collingwood's development, represents not merely the conclusion but also the culmination of his survey. Of the evolution of Croce's thought about history, the thought of one who like himself was both philosopher and historian, he gives an admirable summary. Croce's final views, expressed in the essays published (and translated) as *Theory and History of Historiography*, conform more closely than the views of any other thinker to those of Collingwood himself. History is autonomous, the concrete whole in which philosophy is itself contained, and which supplies the materials for natural science. History being the consciousness of our own mental activity is contemporary, "the self-knowledge of the living mind," and so the mere gathering together of historical materials is not history, but chronicle, "dead" history in fact.

This idea of history as "the reliving of past experience in our own mind" is indeed the central thought of Collingwood about history, referred to many times in his criticism of earlier writers, and reiterated in the final essays. This reconstruction or re-enactment the historian performs by rethinking the thoughts of the past ("all history is the history of thought") in the context of his own knowledge. It implies criticism, and reflection, interpretation and judgment. It is experience, but not immediate experience, rather "the present revival and reliving of past experience." Hence all history is contemporary, and the future must relive and rewrite its own history. History is a science, autonomous and with its own technique, but separate from natural science, concerned with the individuality of the human mind, the product of that "Copernican revolution" in thought in the seventeenth century which has continued and developed as we have come more and more to think historically. History is itself its own criterion, and capable of arriving at exact truth. To fill out this bare and inadequate summary one must turn to some of the final essays, such as those on "Human History and Human Nature," "The Historical Imagination," and "Historical Evidence." There is likewise the earlier published *Autobiography*, in which Collingwood described his own evolution as a historian and his own historical processes, in part developed from his work in archaeology.

The historian may feel, when all is said, that Collingwood's idea of history is less remote from his own than its more philosophical dress would suggest. He may even feel that Collingwood is a little deficient in recognition of the extent to which

historians have seen their task as the recreation of the past by the aid of the historical imagination, and of their realization of the fact that they can only do so in terms of their present, which is that of today, not yesterday or tomorrow. Carlyle a century ago understood the meaning of the past as living in the present, and historians today are no less conscious of the need for this understanding. Perhaps the historian is more conscious, however, of the difficulty of achieving this end, and of the danger of assuming that he (and he alone) has correctly interpreted the past. He will agree that history is not a natural science, but a form of knowledge with its own procedures. Yet he will probably be more ready than Collingwood to admit that if history suffered under the domination of science, it also owes a debt to natural science and its methods, as Acton, assuredly no scientist, once acknowledged. Notwithstanding these or other questions or criticisms, however, historians will be in no doubt that Collingwood has in this volume made a contribution of signal importance to the study of history, and one which should stimulate them to fruitful thought about the nature of their subject.

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Problems of Canadian Sovereignty: From the British North America Act, 1867 to the Statute of Westminster, 1931. By MAURICE OLLIVIER. Toronto: Canada Law Book Company. 1945. Pp. xi, 491.

The Road to Nationhood: A Chronicle of Dominion-Provincial Relations. By WILFRID EGGLESTON. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1946. Pp. xviii, 337. (\$2.50)

Democratic Government and Politics. By J. A. CORRY. (Canadian Government series, R. MACGREGOR DAWSON, editor.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1946. Pp. vii, 468. (\$3.75)

ALL three books should find many readers among Canadians who are interested in the political achievements of their country. The two first are concerned with nation-building. M. Ollivier places his chief emphasis on the legal aspects of this process, which find their culminating point in national sovereignty and freedom from external control. Mr. Eggleston examines the internal structure of the nation and deals with the social and economic development which has not yet been crowned with complete success. Professor Corry has written an introduction to the study of comparative government in the course of which he analyses many of the concepts taken for granted by the other two writers.

M. Ollivier's book comprises three studies which have appeared separately in French. Of its four parts the first analyses those portions of the Statute of Westminster which primarily concern Canada; the second reviews the history of appeals to the Privy Council and ends with an eloquent plea for their abolition; the third deals with the problems latent in the inter-imperial relations of independent sovereign states; and the fourth after explaining the need for amendments to the Canadian constitution, discusses the merits of various methods of amendment which have been proposed. It is a work of distinction and yet is written so simply and so clearly that it may play an important part in influencing opinion. An impressive mastery of detail gives depth to the study and yet the detail is so deftly handled that it is never wearisome. Legal arguments are explained with

admirable lucidity. When controversial issues arise, M. Ollivier is unfailingly courteous to those Canadians who do not share his views.

The work is not confined to exposition and M. Ollivier's own ideals are never for a moment in doubt. Gradually and inevitably Canada has become an independent sovereign state and should, while scrupulously respecting the legitimate rights of the provincial governments, and above all the sacred rights of minorities, establish national unity and extend the control of the "federal" government as the national interest may require. A Canadian's first loyalty is to Canada. The British Commonwealth of Nations is a valuable association provided that it is based on free consent.

This combination of lucid legal exposition and national idealism has its dangers and leads inevitably to some serious consequences. A good illustration of this point is to be found in the chapter devoted to the governor-general. M. Ollivier would like the governor-general in Canada to play exactly the same constitutional role as the King in England. He overlooks a vital point. Constitutional usages are, he rightly says, as important as constitutional law. But the usages based on the prestige of an ancient monarchy cannot well be identical with the usages which arise when the chief of state has a relatively short term of office and has been selected perhaps by the very prime minister whose duty it is to tender him advice. The fact that Canada has been a colony and that the governor-general has been at times associated with imperial control makes it very unlikely that Canadian statesmen would ever use, in speaking of the governor-general, the language which English statesmen have used in speaking of the discretionary power of the sovereign. And the Canadian statesman may not be as considerate as his English opposite number in refraining from tendering embarrassing advice. M. Ollivier evades this issue by saying that "in England as everyone knows the King must follow the advice of his ministers," by quoting with gentle scepticism some language of Mr. Churchill's that might modify this position, and by not making any attempt at all to deal with the similar language of other English statesmen. This makes it easy for him to beg the constitutional question by saying that "Lord Byng" (in refusing a dissolution to Mr. King), "was convinced that Canada was still a Colony and that he could make use of his personal discretion." To Professor Forsey's views he refers, most politely, in a foot-note and simply states that he does not agree with them. The whole question is debatable but it is one of constitutional propriety which should not be complicated by consideration of colonial status and independence.

In another instance M. Ollivier dilutes some very powerful arguments for abolishing appeals to the Privy Council and for ceasing to resort to it for arbitration by citing Mr. Ewart's opinion of the conduct of Lord Alverstone in the Alaska Boundary arbitration, as if this opinion could fairly be cited as authoritative without further reference to the extensive literature on this vexed question. To decide fairly whether a judge or a court should be blamed or praised for making a "political" decision, it is necessary to know the exact political situation in which the decision was made.

It is only incidentally that economic and financial questions are discussed. Divided sympathies easily lead to inconsistencies. At page 326, M. Ollivier suggests that Quebec and Ontario might "at last obtain their just part of revenues instead of paying the deficits of other provinces" and yet at page 329 tells us that "the provinces, except Quebec and Ontario, are not financially in a state to take

care of the obligations which they have assumed." A British Columbian would demur to the second proposition, if that province got what it thought its "just part of revenues." But the two propositions are irreconcilable and it would be beyond the wit of man to draft an amendment to the B.N.A. Act that would afford relief at the same time to Ontario and Quebec and to the less wealthy provinces.

There is so much that is excellent in this book that it is easy to make allowance for these minor blemishes. The emotional background of M. Ollivier's outlook is never far from the surface and if it leads, as it does in these instances, to departures from impartiality it is itself evidence of sincerity.

It is precisely with economic and financial questions that Mr. Eggleston is most concerned. The sub-title of his book is *A Chronicle of Dominion-Provincial Relations*. It is significant that at the outset he asks "Can a federation become a nation" and no less significant that the title of his final chapter is "Deadlock."

The book is divided into six sections. The first examines the intentions and hopes of the Fathers of Confederation; the second shows how "these intentions were modified" by events in the course of seventy years; the third describes the inquiry made by the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations and outlines its financial recommendations; the fourth gives an account of the Dominion-Provincial Conference called to consider these recommendations; the fifth deals with the offer made by the Dominion to the provincial governments in 1945; and the sixth with the failure of the Dominion and the provinces to reach an agreement.

Mr. Eggleston's narrative is clear and impartial. It is because of the complete contrast between his book and that of M. Ollivier that the two are complementary and should be read together. Each is admirable in its own field. M. Ollivier deals with laws, Mr. Eggleston with facts. A reader might almost assume from M. Ollivier's arguments that men of foresight might have anticipated, decades in advance, the constitutional solutions ultimately embodied in the Statute of Westminster. Mr. Eggleston hopes, but is not too confident, that a solution for Canada's internal problem may yet be found. M. Ollivier's book has, so to speak, a happy ending—Canada has become free and independent and the problem of constitutional amendment can be simplified by approaching it as a corollary to independence. Mr. Eggleston tacitly assumes autonomy but asks if Canada can remain federal and yet become a nation.

There is another change of intellectual climate when we turn to Professor Corry's book which is the first of a series designed to relate the government of Canada to political institutions in other countries. It describes elements common to all modern governments: constitutions, executives, legislatures, judiciaries, civil services, political parties, and so forth. A chapter is devoted to federalism and another to the contrast between democracy and dictatorship. It is thus a useful companion volume to the two other books because, when we consider Canadian problems, we should, in order to view them in proper perspective, keep the institutions of other countries in mind. What, we may ask ourselves, have separate sovereign states achieved? Why should Canadians wish to live in a state impregnated with the emotions of nationalism? If human welfare is our goal, is it necessary to elect between material welfare and political freedom? If a working compromise can be made, what will be its terms? Is federalism a final political settlement or is it a stepping stone to closer union when the time is ripe?

What form can international ties take, today, tomorrow—ultimately? Not all these questions are discussed by Professor Corry, but his book is an admirable introduction to them. His cool and dispassionate language serves to establish in our minds the mood in which these questions should be considered. The book would be a most suitable text for a university course in comparative government, and for those who pursue their studies elsewhere it can be an excellent substitute for such a course.

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Political Economy in the Modern State. By HAROLD A. INNIS. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1946. Pp. xx, 270. (\$4.00)

THIS collection of papers published in various periodicals since 1933 possesses no formal unity, but the clearly defined judgments give them a high degree of essential unity in thought. All the political and social problems of the post-war world are brought to a focus from a fresh point of view. "The economies of frontier countries are storm centers of the international economy" (p. 228). The Canadian outlook is peculiarly sensitive to the difficulties of economic and social adjustment that beset the present world, and from such a point of view it is not easy or tempting to resort to the illusory ideal of the closed economy that attracts so many types of thinkers in Great Britain, the United States, Europe, and the Soviet world. The Canadian, beset on all sides by the impact of external forces, cannot muster any enthusiasm for solutions calling for more centralization of power. "Multi-regional, bilingual, and bireligious countries exhaust their energies in compromise . . . Division makes for intolerance on the part of both French Canadians and Loyalists softened only by trade and debts. The political party is apparently no longer able to provide necessary compromise without the sacrifice of principles. The absence of consistency in the attitude of any English Canadian party or public leader points to the fundamental corruption of Canadian political life" (Pp. xi-xii). The thoughtful "colonial" is not likely to be an idealist with a panacea. Chastened by pressures from without, and by division within, the earnest reflective "colonial" takes as his motto, "Above all—no zeal" (p. viii).

The essays fall into three general groups: historical essays on the development of basic aspects of the world economy since the discovery of America; historical essays concerned with the culture and political thought of Europe and North America; essays concerned with the place of the universities and the social sciences in our political and social life.

The historical essays on the development of the world economy are fresh and stimulating. The material is severely condensed, as it is primarily concerned with judgment and interpretation, rather than with descriptive narration. However, much of the narrative background is familiar enough to serve the needs of the reader.

Under the title "Liquidity Preference as a Factor in Industrial Development," Professor Innis deals suggestively with the gold-rushes, and reveals many underlying principles of interpretation.

Distortion by the gold rushes of more normal trends of metropolitan development—in which improved techniques in transportation and communication gradually led to

changes in types of products from the hinterlands, more easily handled products being replaced by less easily handled products, fur by timber and timber by grain, by the speeding up of transportation improvement with construction of transcontinental railways,—was offset in part by their effectiveness in stimulating changes in staple production. Concentration on staples implied a highly specialized economy from which changes were accomplished with great difficulty and distress (p. 200).

Underlying these judgments there is the very significant suggestion that the progressive effects of technological changes are less disturbing than the discoveries of massive deposits of minerals or other raw resources. It is not so clear that there is justification for treating one class of change as more "normal" than the other. Furthermore, in many instances the effect of primary changes in transportation is not gradual enough to make price adjustments smooth and easy. Ever since the decade of the seventies, the enlargement of the wheat growing area has proceeded at a rate considerably in excess of the average requirements of the world market. The problem has not been adequately analysed, but there are certainly grounds for the belief that not only gold-rushes but all types of changes may produce disturbances of the economic system that exceed its capacities of immediate adjustment. If this is true, some of the primary dislocations of the economy are not a consequence of the defects of any particular form of social organization. We may have to face the fact that the possible rates of economic and social change exceed by some considerable margin the possible rates of the redistribution of occupations and relative densities of population.

In this instance, as in many others, the conclusions of Professor Innis may be developed on a somewhat higher level of generalization.

The chapters concerned with the development of western thought and culture cover so much material that it is difficult to convey any adequate appreciation of their significance and compass. The broader elements of the thesis are formulated briefly in the preface.

The distortion of the price system has weakened the role of political economy in western civilization and destroyed its position as developed by Adam Smith in relation to natural law. The crystallization of language and commercialization of language strengthened by the development of the communication industries have brought rigidity and division. Obsession with administrative details in areas determined by national boundaries imposes serious handicaps on the work of world organization Improvements in communication have weakened the power of sustained thought when it has become most necessary The limitations of the price system have meant resort to political arrangements and constant emphasis on appeals to force (pp. xiii-xiv).

All these themes are developed at considerable length, with much vivid illustration and vigour of phrase. The picture is distressing, and the general tone of all this social history is not offset by the criticism of the universities and the social sciences.

[The university] must continue its vital function in checking the dangerous extremes to which all institutions with power are subject. The extreme tendencies of modern civilization shown in the rise of the modern state and in the tyranny of opinion compel the universities to resist them The university must deny the finality of any of the conclusions of the social sciences. It must steadfastly resist the tendency to acclaim any single solution of the world's problem at the risk of failing to play its role as a balancing factor in the growth of civilization. The Marxist solution, the Keynesian solution, or any solution, cannot be accepted as final if the universities are to continue and civilization is to survive (p. 141).

In the development of these thoughts Professor Innis shows evident fear lest the sciences and mathematics destroy the sense of proportion that is derived most directly from philosophy and the social sciences as studies in human values. The distrust of over-specialization raises many of the issues currently associated with the discussions of programmes of general education. There is a clear conviction that the social sciences should assume an important position in leadership, but it is equally clear that Professor Innis does not wish to accept as adequate a body of abstract thinking in which mechanical quantitative relations serve in lieu of judgments of value. The development of statistics is distrusted and little sympathy is shown for mathematical economics. The constant use of the term political economy suggests a return to the temper and scope of Adam Smith's thought. The most direct statement is a citation from E. J. Urwick (p. 143), but the attitude runs through several papers.

This somewhat pessimistic, backward looking point of view is not a necessary conclusion. The precise issue can be restated in a form that might not be acceptable to Professor Innis though it is in many ways implied by the whole tenor of his criticism of the modern thought. The massiveness of the *Wealth of Nations* is due to the felicitous combination of careful abstract thought with shrewd empiricism. Smith and his most competent followers had a keen understanding of the "limitations" of the social sciences. As economic theory has developed in scope, there has been less and less willingness to recognize the need of any empirical qualifications. We must recapture the wise empiricism of Smith and Mill, or find some other means of bridging the gap between theory and practice.

An understanding of the "limitations" of the social sciences may be achieved by going forward. The recent progress toward a comprehensive theory of relativity shows that the limitations of the social sciences rest upon the same principles as the limitations of all the other sciences. Neither the sciences, nor philosophy can claim the achievement of "final" or unconditioned truths. All our knowledge is coloured by the contingencies of our painfully finite minds. Whether we wish to work in a specifically abstract field or in the fully concrete and explicit field of economic history, even a modest understanding of the general principles of relativity will save us from the more serious errors of abstract thought and the common inadequacies of historical analysis. As we move forward to a better understanding of the nature of our knowledge we will be less dependent upon empirical expedients. Until we reach a higher level of attainment than we have now achieved, we had best give heed to this vivid demonstration of the limitations of abstract formulae. The over-simplified generalizations that can be very useful under somewhat special conditions cannot be applied with confidence to the problems of the world economy.

ABBOTT PAYSON USHER

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The Dictionary of Canadian Biography. By W. STEWART WALLACE. 2 vols. (Second edition, revised and enlarged.) Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada. 1945. Pp. ix, 729. (\$20.00)

In concluding his review of the first edition of this work in 1926, Dr. A. H. U. Colquhoun wrote: "There are few libraries, public or private, which contain all the biographical dictionaries of Canadian origin, but even where such is the case, the new dictionary will supersede them. A supplementary edition is certain."

After twenty years the forecast contained in the last sentence is now happily fulfilled and of the second edition it remains true that it supersedes all similar works, including the first. Though the *Standard Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, edited by Sir Charles G. D. Roberts and Arthur L. Tunnell, is a very scholarly work and gives biographies in greater detail, it treats as yet only the careers of persons whose deaths occurred between 1875 and 1937 and does not fill the need for a dictionary covering the whole sweep of Canadian history as do the volumes under review.

The enlargement of the work is substantial. In the original edition there were 433 pages and nearly 2,000 biographies, while the present edition contains 729 pages and sketches the lives of slightly more than 4,200 persons in all walks of Canadian life. The task of the editor must have been an exceedingly difficult one in deciding on the inclusion or exclusion of a great number of individuals whose careers were on the borderline between distinction and obscurity. No doubt users of the work will occasionally fail to find the names of those whom they may judge to be worthy of having been included. The present reviewer, after a careful scrutiny, has discovered the omission of only one person of a prominence which he thinks beyond question would have merited treatment. By and large the volumes would seem amply to achieve the aim of being a rich and accessible mine of biographical material on all aspects of Canadian development—political, military, economic, scientific, and cultural.

As in the first edition, the biographies are brief and to the point, but the references appended to each will be of the greatest value to those who may wish to read more fully about the lives of particular individuals. The editor has performed a distinct service in disentangling the careers of men of the same name which have often been confused with each other as in the cases of various fur traders and the two Western Canadian historians bearing the name of Alexander Begg. The wise practice has been continued of excluding the lives of persons still living. The enlargement has taken the form of adding not only the names of distinguished persons who have died since the publication of the first edition in 1926 but also of including biographies of a number of people who might have been dealt with in the earlier edition but with respect to whom adequate information has only more recently become available. Revision has also included the correction of errors detected in the first edition and the adding of facts and references which have been provided by more recent scholarship.

In *format* the large octavo paging of the first edition has been retained. The print is small but readable and the subject of each biographical sketch is made to stand out clearly by the use of larger and heavier type, thus facilitating speedy reference. The binding is handsome and substantial, giving a distinctive appearance on the shelf and promising durability under the heavy usage to which the volumes will be subjected in all larger libraries. One cannot suppress the wish, however, that for private libraries it might have been possible to publish a less expensive edition on thinner paper and in a single volume. This would have made the work more readily available to the very wide circle of readers which it merits. Mr. Wallace has placed Canadian scholarship and the public at large under a heavy debt for the original production, and for the revision and generous enlargement of this standard work of reference. It is to be hoped that the process of periodical revision and enlargement will become permanent.

M. H. LONG

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Hugh Peters, a Study in Puritanism. By J. MAX PATRICK. (University of Buffalo studies, vol. XVII.) Buffalo: University of Buffalo. 1946. Pp. 137-207. (50c.)

The Letter-Book of John Viscount Mordaunt, 1658-1660. Edited for the Royal Historical Society by MARY COATE. (Camden, third series, vol. LXIX.) London: Royal Historical Society. 1945. Pp. xxiv, 196.

London and the National Government, 1721-1742: A Study of City Politics and the Walpole Administration. By ALFRED JAMES HENDERSON. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1945. Pp. x, 342. (\$3.00)

THESE three volumes deal with events and personalities at the beginning and the end of a memorable century in English history. The first two are concerned with the course of the Puritan Revolution, with the ideals and aspirations of one of its less important leaders, and with some of the more mundane events which brought it to an end. The third provides a detailed picture of the political life of the most important corporate community in the realm, and of its relations with the national government in the comparatively tranquil period of Walpole's ascendancy. There is perhaps no very striking resemblance between the ideal Puritan commonwealth adumbrated in the sermons and pamphlets of Hugh Peters and the earth-bound, common-sense régime of Walpole and his contemporaries. Nor could it have been foreseen by Viscount Mordaunt, when, during the months of confusion that followed the death of Oliver Cromwell, he sought to enlist the support of the Presbyterian leaders for the restoration of Charles II, that within two generations the dynasty which he served would have disappeared, and the control of English government would have passed to men whose political principles differed so markedly from his own. Yet each man contributed in his own way to bring about that result; and there was much in the rule of Walpole, especially as it related to the material interests of the commercial and landed classes, that would have appealed at once to the Puritan chaplain who laboured so earnestly for the extinction of the house of Stuart, and the Cavalier nobleman who was only less zealous for its restoration.

Interest in Mr. Patrick's essay on the career of Hugh Peters will centre mainly on those parts of the book which deal with the social, economic, and political theories which form the substance of so many of Peters's sermons and pamphlets. The biographical narrative with which the book opens is of less interest. Peters had an unusual career. His journeyings carried him not only to every corner of the British Isles, but to some of the more important centres of Protestantism on the continent, and for a time to the recently founded colony of Massachusetts. The account of these travels, and of Peters's endless activity in England, in Ireland, in the Netherlands, and in America is here reduced to a rather dull compilation of facts, interspersed with some claims which the evidence in its present form will hardly support.

In the great debates of these years, concerning almost everything that even remotely affected either the spiritual or the material welfare of the English people, Peters took an active part; and students of the period will profit from Mr. Patrick's survey of these discussions and of Peters's contribution to them. He had few original ideas; but he was an adept at borrowing other men's thoughts and putting them in a form that was likely to attract notice; and as a chaplain and preacher especially favoured by Cromwell, he had exceptional opportunities for his work as a propagandist. He had something to say on almost every subject then in debate, from reform of the government, the law, and the church, to projects for setting the

poor to work, for improving trade, for organizing the national finances, and for determining the country's relations with foreign states. The impression, indeed, is that he probably had too much to say on too many subjects to be really effective on any.

Mr. Patrick has given himself little space for comment or appraisal; and his estimate of Peters's work is seldom illumined by comparison with the ideas of other men engaged in the same debate. On some points his work is uncritical. He accepts without question the time-honoured but dubious generalization about Laudian persecution and Puritan liberty; and some of his definitions will not bear close scrutiny. To say, for example, that Peters's concept of liberty meant "not freedom from restrictions, but an ideal type of limited, regulated liberty," is to say something which, without further elucidation, has very little value. At least, it is hardly enough to place Peters among the profound or original thinkers on this subject. For all that, this is an interesting study of a man who, in a remarkable degree, combined religious fervour amounting to fanaticism with a certain jocular common sense, and a keen perception, at once of the value of this world's goods and the manner of acquiring them. But most readers on closing the book will not be persuaded that history has done any serious injustice in leaving Hugh Peters in the comparative obscurity in which he had long remained.

The letters of Viscount Mordaunt provide some additional evidence on the negotiations which preceded the Restoration. Unfortunately most of the letters here printed are mere abstracts. Miss Coate explains the efforts that have been made to trace the originals; but these are apparently lost, and many of the present documents, often relating to crucial points in these obscure transactions, contain little more than bald summaries or mere hints of the schemes in which Mordaunt and his fellow Royalists were engaged. They supplement known material, but they will not appreciably alter accepted conclusions as to the manner in which the Restoration was effected.

Miss Coate's introduction traces the history of the manuscript, and provides the needed detail concerning Mordaunt and his associates. The younger son of a family which had been active in the Royalist cause since the early years of the civil war, he had himself taken part in the rising of 1648, had subsequently escaped from prison, and had spent the greater part of the next decade on the continent. He was in England again before the death of Cromwell, but the activity to which these letters refer occurred mainly in the months following the fall of the Protectorate in the spring of 1659. One evident weakness of the Royalist cause was the jealous dissension among various groups ostensibly working for the same object; and Mordaunt was not ideally the man to mediate these differences. He sought support wherever he could obtain it, although, until all other plans seemed unavailing, he was opposed to the project favoured by some of Charles II's advisers of seeking foreign aid—"an ill remedy for a sad disease," as he rightly described it. He approached Richard Cromwell with a view to enlisting the services of such men as Lockhart and Admiral Montague; and he spent a good deal of his time trying to reach an agreement with Sir William Waller, General Massey, and other Presbyterian leaders. These last were evidently awaiting a decisive turn of events, and they were disposed to insist on conditions which did not commend themselves either to the king or to Hyde.

In their entirety these letters would probably contain much interesting information on the condition of England in these months of turmoil and confusion. In their present form they are, from that point of view, a little disappointing. Yet

they provide glimpses of an England striving desperately to find, or to re-create the basis of unity after years of strife and discord; and Miss Coate and the Royal Historical Society have performed a useful service in making them available to students of the period.

Mr. Henderson's volume on the relations between Walpole's government and the ruling authorities in the city of London carries the reader into a very different world. The book shows signs of haste, and a good deal of the material might, with greater care, have been worked into more interesting form. But it is a type of study of which we might have more. The whole problem of the relations between the national government and local communities, especially in the period before 1832, deserves more study than it has ever received; and although London has always been by far the most important organized community in the realm, there are other centres of commercial and industrial activity whose relations with the central government would probably repay investigation. How public opinion was organized and brought to bear on the national government at many critical periods of English history is a question to which students would like to have an answer. For one period and for one community Mr. Henderson's book provides about as satisfactory an answer as can be expected; and it is to be hoped that his example will be followed by others.

No one was more keenly aware of the importance of London as a sounding board of national opinion and as a source of material support than the great Whig leader; and no one has ever been more careful to foster the welfare of those particular interests represented by "the city." His success in clearing up the difficulties created by the financial crash of 1720 won him a large measure of popularity with all classes of the London community; and to the end of his period of rule he retained the support of the Court of Aldermen, the highest branch of the complicated city government. With the Common Council and the Court of Freemen he did not fare so well. The Londoners of the period were disposed to regard the city as the nation, and to consider every projected measure of the national government, from a bridge at Westminster to a change of fiscal policy, exclusively as it affected their interests. It was among the London populace that Walpole's opponents were most successful in working up agitation against the excise bill; and the noisy patriots who clamoured for war against Spain in 1739 had no more vociferous supporters than the merchants and artisans of the city.

On these and other episodes of the kind, Mr. Henderson has assembled a good deal of interesting material. His book contains a good account of the working of London's unique system of municipal government; and considerable attention has been given to the numerous elections to city offices and to the jockeying and manoeuvring to secure control of the city's representation in the House of Commons. Not all the questions which this book suggests have been answered as clearly as could be desired; but the author has caught something of the seething, boisterous life of the London of two centuries ago, and his work throws some light on an aspect of English history that has not hitherto attracted much attention.

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Canadian Agricultural Policy: The Historical Pattern. By VERNON C. FOWKE. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1946. Pp. xii, 304. (\$3.50)

THIS volume is an example of economic history at its best. Written by an economist with a good sense of the use of historical materials, it combines economic analysis

and the use of historical data in an interpretation of the purposes of agricultural policy in Canada. Professor Fowke condemns the "idea that agriculture is Canada's basic industry" as "a *cliché*, devoid of content" and maintains that its "ritualistic use" has befuddled the interpretation of Canadian agricultural policy and has failed to reveal the true role of agriculture in the economic and political life of Canada. He has presented a new and convincing interpretation of the historical role of agriculture and agricultural policy. His thesis is that "Canadian agriculture has been related functionally to empire (territorial and economic) in providing defence, in provisioning staple trades, and providing investment opportunities on the agricultural frontier" (p. 105). The implications of this thesis are that agriculture has been aided or neglected by government as it has been more or less important in promoting the interests of the commercial, financial, or industrial groups and that the political power of the Canadian farmer has varied with the contribution which agriculture could make to these groups rather than with "farmers' numbers or their state of organization."

This thesis is developed through an examination of the uses to which agriculture has been put in Canada from the French Régime to 1930. In New France, agriculture was encouraged by government in order to defend the St. Lawrence as a base for the fur trade and to defend and provision the fisheries and the sugar trade. Government aid and encouragement were forthcoming in order to serve the interests of these staple trades. The same pattern is found in the Maritime Provinces before Confederation in spite of the fact that agriculture was not the most attractive occupation outside of Prince Edward Island. Agricultural policy is intelligible only as it is viewed in its relation to the needs of the fisheries, the West Indies trade, lumbering, and ship-building. It was supported largely by the commercial group and was pressed most vigorously in periods of commercial depression. On the whole, however, aid to agriculture was meagre and was "unsuccessful in producing a domestic agriculture adequate to commercial needs." In the St. Lawrence region up to 1850 agricultural aid was trifling in amount and it was apparent "that encouragement to agriculture was no essential part of the real interests of government." The large sums spent by Canadian governments on river development contrasted with the trifling amounts spent on agriculture, Professor Fowke thinks, "may be taken as a measure of the possibilities which they saw in American, as compared with domestic, agriculture. In the period before 1850 agriculture remained important for empire in its economic sense, but American agriculture rather than Canadian was significant."

Before 1867, however, domestic agriculture was to assume much greater importance in the eyes of the commercial class as its "frontier role" became obvious. Professor Fowke defines the "frontier" as "whatever place and whatever economic activity gives rise to investment opportunities on a substantial scale." The significant features of the frontier, from the point of view of the economist, are its investment opportunities, and when these opportunities arise on a substantial scale it is in the interest of the merchants, transportation companies, finance companies, and industrialists, to support policies which will contribute to the economic development of the frontier. The potentialities of agricultural expansion were brought home during the depression of the eighteenth-fifties.

After 1850, and as late perhaps as 1930, the chief non-agrarian interest in Canadian agriculture has related to the investment process accompanying the transfer of great streams of population from Europe and Britain, and later from

the United States, to frontier agricultural regions, first on the St. Lawrence and later on the prairies. An attempt was first made to revive the vitalizing processes of capital formation on the agricultural frontier in the St. Lawrence Valley. The Crown Lands Department and the Bureau of Agriculture pursued a policy of land grants and colonization roads in the Ottawa-Huron tract and a policy of attracting immigrants to occupy these lands. But the attempt failed and by Confederation it was realized that it was impossible to attract American commerce through the St. Lawrence and that it was also impossible to create an agricultural frontier on the St. Lawrence. "The conclusive establishment of these facts eventually forced the major gamble of attempting to establish agriculture in the North West Territories." Thus "in a very real sense Confederation was the constitutional instrument designed to permit Canada, the province, to re-establish an agricultural frontier to which it would have an exclusive entrée."

Part II of the volume is concerned with federal agricultural policy. Professor Fowke first deals with the division of powers at Confederation and explains that the device of concurrent jurisdiction gave the provinces authority over the minor functions of assistance to agricultural societies and the like and gave the Dominion government power to deal with the broader aspects of agricultural settlement and immigration "according to the commercial interpretation which had gradually developed in the pre-Confederation period." The new federal Department of Agriculture became the agency for developing the agricultural frontier which in turn would vitalize the whole economy. Immigration and agricultural settlement, aid to the livestock and dairy industries, the introduction of experimental farms, and the regulation of the grain trade were the means by which this objective was to be achieved.

While Professor Fowke has struck a telling blow at agricultural fundamentalism he has done much more than this. He has analysed the role of agriculture and agricultural policy in the development of the Canadian economy. His book would have been strengthened if this aspect had been pointed up more clearly than he has done. Nevertheless, he has shown the importance of the frontier as the dynamic element in Canadian economic history—a fact which those who today advocate large-scale immigration seem to have forgotten.

At several points in the volume, Professor Fowke gives a clue to the understanding of the forces which determine the relative strength of the central and provincial governments in Canada. On page 141 he says: "Since the federal government was so largely created as an agency for the colonization of the West, it follows that the Dominion government would grow strong throughout the years during which it was performing this function, and would weaken once this was accomplished—unless in the meantime the central government should discover new and vital purposes." The discovery of vital national purposes is the key to the solution of the problem of Canadian national unity and the establishment of a strong central government.

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On the Side of the Law: Biography of J. D. Nicholson. By J. W. HORAN. Drawings by JAMES NICOLL. Edmonton, Alberta: The Institute of Applied Art. 1944. Pp. 279. (\$2.50, cloth; \$1.25, paper)

THIS book is difficult to classify. It can scarcely be called a "biography." A work describing actual experiences, written in the first person, is commonly

regarded as autobiography; and any intermediary preparing such material for the press would be designated an editor and not the "author," as Mr. Horan is termed, both by his publishers and by himself.

This is not mere formalistic quibbling. There are certain features in the book which may be considered pardonable in octogenarian reminiscence, when memory is very often unreliable; and coming from one whose chosen activities, apart from indispensable official reports, do not suggest the trained writer of the critical type. They are less pardonable when coming from a younger man, connected only as a recorder with the events described. Mr. Horan or the publishers should have realized that his true relationship to the book was that of an editor; and that certain obligations were incumbent upon him in that capacity.

Chapters III – IV (pp. 40-60) are no part of the biography of J. D. Nicholson, who joined the North West Mounted Police towards the end of 1885. This portion is described as a "historical introduction." The epoch has been much better recorded by General Sam Steele, C. M. MacInnes, and G. F. G. Stanley, among others. If it must be included here, there should have been a careful critical verification of the facts. Portions of what are given here as history are manifestly mere barrack-room reminiscence, gathered at second-hand from men who in the seventies were newcomers in a land of which they clearly knew little or nothing before their arrival, passed on with all the authority of a senior to a recruit, and with the same supposed authority retailed to the reader.

It might be current barrack-room gossip that there were "no missionaries among the Blackfeet previous to 1874"; the apparent implication being that it was the Police who made the country safe for the missionaries. The precise reverse is the truth. The missionaries made it safe for the Police. It is high time to discard also the idle postulates of Lord Strathcona¹ (absurdly repeated by Douglas MacKay²) about the "mission" of the Hudson's Bay Company in the West, and the assurance of safe travel "under their protection." The Hudson's Bay men on the ground were under no such illusion. Governor Simpson in 1841 would not venture into the Blackfoot territory without a well-armed escort of twenty men, and John Rowand, Chief Factor at Fort Edmonton—himself very dubious about the move—as his "liaison officer."³ At this very time, Rundle, the first resident white missionary west of Red River (then not out of his twenties and six months in the West) was living among them alone.⁴ Similarly in 1870-1, when the Hudson's Bay men at Edmonton were alarmed over the possible repercussions of Red River unrest among the Blackfeet, it was John McDougall whom they begged to act as their envoy to the Blackfoot camps,⁵ where the missionary was accorded a welcome which the traders felt no reason to anticipate for themselves. Father Scollen was among them some years *before* (instead of merely "after") the Police; and Father Lacombe,⁶ who was frequently an honoured guest in their *tipis* a dozen years before they ever heard of the Police, is not even

¹Beckles Willson, *The Great Company* (Toronto 1899), intr. xi–xiii.

²D. MacKay, *The Honourable Company* (Indianapolis, 1936), 260; cf. John McDougall, *On Western Trails in the Early Seventies* (Toronto, 1911), 15, 21, 200.

³George Simpson, *Journey Around the World in the Years 1841 and 1842* (2 vols., London, 1847), I, 58-9, 110; cf. W. F. Butler, *Great Lone Land* (17th ed., London, 1910), 263.

⁴Rundle, MS. Journal, April, 1841 (in McDougall Memorial Museum, Edmonton).

⁵John McDougall, *In the Days of the Red River Rebellion* (Toronto, 1903, 1911), 158 *seq.*

⁶Katherine Hughes, *The Black-Robe Voyageur* (Toronto, 1911), 114-22.

mentioned. What is here said about "Stomixotokon" (Colonel Macleod of the Police) is entirely true, although not new; but it was the influence and earlier "spade-work" of the missionaries which afforded Macleod an opportunity to reveal that integrity and even-handed justice which so deservedly won the confidence of the Blackfeet, and made the tradition of the superman "Riders of the Plains" even possible.

The third-hand hearsay concerning the Custer "Massacre" is no part of the life of Mr. Nicholson, and could well have been omitted. Since it must be inserted it should have included together with its local versions (such as the now discredited "Rain-in-the-Face's grudge") some hint of the later appraisals of historical criticism. As the result of an increasing critical literature, Custer is a fallen idol, whose glory has departed. This is the first time we have encountered a chief "Four Horns," among the Sioux leaders of 1876. Four Horns was the earlier designation of Sitting Bull, discarded after his adoption of his better-known name.⁷ Someone may have noted a reference to the earlier one without possessing the key.

Together with these historical shortcomings, there are many errors more closely touching the direct subject of the book. The considerable mass of factual detail obviously suggests the existence of diaries which are incidentally mentioned; but they must have been very loosely consulted. Certain errors could otherwise scarcely have occurred. Some of these are not in themselves important. The governor-general of Canada whom Corporal Nicholson escorted in the later eighties was Lord Lansdowne and not Lord Minto, during whose term of office Mr. Nicholson was not even (as he shows) a member of the Force. Commissioner "Irving" (Irvine), and Forts "Ellis" (Ellice) and "Carleton" (Carlton) are likewise easily recognizable. But errors of this character inevitably suggest possibilities of errors more serious and more difficult to check. These rob the book of that unquestionable authenticity which is the chief justification for printing.

The best portions of the book are those dealing with the years in the two Forces, the North-West Mounted and the Alberta Provincial Police. In the former particularly, we get an insight—not always afforded in "official" histories—into the stern discipline and its demands upon the resourcefulness, courage, and dogged persistence which have given the famous Force its reputation. One may query the wisdom or good taste in giving half-details concerning resignations because of inability to "work harmoniously" with colleagues or superiors who cannot reply. Notice of the event should suffice in such cases. The final chapters, dealing with the *finesse* as well as the adventure of prospecting and promoting of mining syndicates, hardly come within the scope of the title.

The publishers disclaim any attempt on Mr. Horan's part at "literary excellences." We think the apology unnecessary. His style almost throughout is plain, vigorous, and masculine; well suited to an open-air atmosphere. Only once, does he—or Mr. Nicholson?—make any attempt at "style," in the account of the hold-up of the C.P.R. train near Revelstoke, B.C.—"the 97"; a combination title no railroader ever applied to a *train*.⁸ To one who has taken water some hundreds of times during thirty-five years in locomotive service, the mackinaw-clad fireman, the frosty spout, and the "wintry night" in *early June*, are unconvincing examples of style. The nearest parallel known to the reviewer (in

⁷*Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, (ed. F. W. Hodge, 2 vols., Washington, 1910), II, 583. The change dated from 1857.

⁸A railroader would say: "The 2850 (*i.e.* engine) was on 97."

respect of "accuracy") is Kipling's preposterous detail in Harvey Cheyne's transcontinental special in *Captains Courageous*.

The defect of this book is not lack of style, but lack of care, and of any apparent realization that care is of any importance. The publishers append a list of twenty-three *errata*, exclusive of the examples here quoted; and these are not the whole. Several of them are clearly not printers' errors. Much has been said and with some justice, on the desirability of Western history being written by Westerners. The standard of accuracy displayed here will add little force to that contention. We have enjoyed the book as light reading in which we have encountered several familiar episodes and a few old acquaintances. It is highly desirable that material of this character, which clothes the skeleton forms of official documentary sources with life, should be preserved before the actors pass on; but critical caution and accuracy should be essential, and they are scarcely in evidence here.

F. G. ROE

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The Quebec Tradition: An Anthology of French-Canadian Prose and Verse. Selected by SÉRAPHEIN MARION, and translated into English by WATSON KIRKCONNELL. (Collection Humanitas, published under the patronage of the Faculty of Letters, University of Montreal.) Montréal: Éditions Lumen. 1946. Pp. 245.

THIS bilingual anthology, begun as a collection of translations by Professor Kirkconnell, has been expanded with the scholarly assistance of Professor Marion into what may well be the first example of a new tool to be used in the service of our Canadian literatures. Several English-speaking critics of French-Canadian letters have attempted translations of isolated poems or prose pieces, not to mention a number of French-Canadian books which have been translated in their entirety, but here for the first time is a collection of the prose and verse of Quebec's century-old literature with an English version opposite. The selections are grouped under six general headings: "La Grande Patrie," "La Petite Patrie," "Ancestors," "Nature in Canada," "French Language and Race," and "Religion." They have been chosen in the translator's words, "to present French-Canadian thought and life, as recorded by some of their most gifted men, and to make it available in English" (p. 15). This statement of purpose invites a two-fold appraisal of the book: as a record of "French-Canadian thought and life," and as an English translation of the works selected. On both grounds a favourable judgment can be given, although with some qualification in each case. The writings only too briefly represented cover the past eighty years; the editor has wisely avoided the early literary documents whose interest for non-French readers would be slight, but has included selections dating down to the time of compilation. In this connexion, it is to be regretted that the dates of the writers or the books concerned were not included in some inconspicuous fashion for the curious reader's information. One serious exclusion from the somewhat idealized portrait of Quebec given in the extracts is that of texts dealing with the province's industrial expansion, her workers' syndicates, her co-operatives, or any other manifestations of the urban life of the majority of the French-Canadian population since the beginning of this century. Gabrielle Roy, whose name one might expect to find signed to such a selection, is represented only by two pages devoted to sugar-making.

The translation is on the whole satisfactorily done—better in the verse than in the prose. The extreme literalness of the prose versions is undoubtedly intended to

be in keeping with the purpose of the book, but it is unfortunately true that at many points the English prose text suffers from a lack of that fluency and lustre which the translator has not hesitated to impart to his verse translations. There are several mistranslations ("fers à repasser," p. 46; "idiome," p. 162; "économe," p. 170; "aussi" passim), some translations which may indicate a lack of familiarity with the subjects discussed ("faiseurs de terre," p. 58; "les pays d'en haut," p. 72), and an occasional French form retained where an acceptable English equivalent might have been used ("Poucet," p. 49; "Bourgogne," p. 163). When all such criticisms have been made, however, one is left with a feeling of considerable pleasure that such a book as *The Quebec Tradition* has at last been made available to the English-speaking public.

D. M. HAYNE

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A la Conquête du Haut Savoir. By SÉRAPHIN MARION. (A propos de la section North American French Language and Literature de la Modern Language Association of America.) Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa. 1945. Pp. 27.

THE author first outlines the part played by the Modern Language Association in the university world of North America. Its fifty-odd, highly specialized, sections enjoy a certain autonomy within their own realm, and this unity in diversity explains in part its success.

Eight groups are devoted to the study of French literature, and the youngest of these, the North American French Section, formed in 1941, is the main topic of the article under review. Needless to say, there can be no question whatever of opposing, in a spirit of North American nationalism, the French civilization on this continent to that of France, nor is a comparison of their literary production the purpose of such a group. Primarily concerned with the language, literatures, and folklore of French populations in Louisiana, New England, Haiti, Acadia, Quebec, and the Canadian West, its programme was explained as follows by the President: "... to relate the work to its proper background, then to explain the influences which have brought it into being and finally to bring out the psychological or other factors which give it either its national or its own peculiar character."

Asked to draw up a list of Canadian universities' doctoral theses on various aspects of French-Canadian civilization, Professor Marion gives us the result of his survey: thirty theses, half of which deal with literature, one with arts and crafts, and the others with history or sociology. There is also a short list of important theses written to date in American universities and books by American or Canadian authors are mentioned. This should prove useful bibliographical material.

M. MACDONALD

The University of Toronto.

The Story of Summerland. By F. W. ANDREW. Penticton: Penticton Herald. [1945.] Pp. 55. (\$1.50)

Memories of Pioneer Life in British Columbia. By FLORENCE GOODFELLOW. Wenatchee, Wash.: The author. 1945. Pp. 43.

Early Days among the Gulf Islands of British Columbia. By MARGARET (SHAW) WALTER. [Victoria: Diggon-Hibben.] [1946.] Pp. 67.

A History of Prince George. By Reverend F. E. RUNNALLS. With a foreword by HARRY G. PERRY. Vancouver: Wrigley Printing Company. 1946. Pp. xiv, 197. (\$2.50)

Fur and Gold in the Kootenays. By CLARA GRAHAM. Vancouver: Wrigley Printing Company. 1945. Pp. xiii, 206. (\$3.00)

Maquinna the Magnificent. By B. A. McKELVIE. Vancouver: Vancouver Daily Province. 1946. Pp. ix, 65.

FROM even a cursory glance at the list of recent publications it becomes apparent that local history is coming into its own. For years the enthusiasm evoked by local historical associations has been thwarted in the matter of publication. Now by a variety of means, this handicap is being overcome. In so far as British Columbia is concerned the trend is very definite and for the most part the results achieved are highly satisfactory.

Of the publications under review *Fur and Gold in the Kootenays* is, perhaps, the most ambitious in its scope. Mrs. Graham has compressed within the limits of her 200 pages much of the drama of one of the most fascinating regions of British Columbia from primitive times to the late eighteen-eighties. Of the three parts into which the book is divided, the first on the early history of the Kootenay Indians is the shortest and yet quite informative. Part II, "The First White Men in the Kootenays" deals with the activity of explorers, fur traders, and missionaries in the period 1807-58. As the early trade routes of the fur-trade companies passed through the Kootenay country the list of visitors is impressive. David Thompson, Sir George Simpson, Father de Smet were the most important but due mention is made of James Sinclair, David Douglas, and Paul Kane. Most of these men left records of their exploits and from these much useful material has been extracted. The last part deals with the transition from fur trading to mining. Gold-rush stories, explorations which heralded the advance of the mining frontier, road building and reclamation projects—all fit into the picture. In a sense the chief weakness of this book arises from its very compactness. More extensive quotations from available sources would have made it a more useful volume. Unfortunately, too, a number of errors, both typographical and factual, have been allowed to pass into print. The illustrations have been carefully selected and a simple outline map is included. As an introduction to the history of the Kootenay country the book will be invaluable.

Early Days among the Gulf Islands deals with another, though more restricted, region. It is written by one who for many years lived on the islands and who felt that "conditions and incidents of an earlier time such as can never happen again" were worthy of recording. Much of the material has appeared elsewhere in print but is now gathered together with the personal reminiscences of the author. *Memories of Pioneer Life in British Columbia* is an even more personal narrative. Mrs. Goodfellow was a daughter of Louis Agassiz, a pioneer of 1858 and an early settler in the Fraser valley. Her reminiscences include her journey to British Columbia, life on a pioneer colonial farm and end with her marriage in 1876. The narrative was written when the author was well over seventy years of age, largely at the urging of her children who wished to have an account of her early life. It has been printed in its original form. There are consequently a number of discrepancies which more skilful editing might have removed without in any way impairing the charm of the original manuscript. Certain clarifying details might also have been added, as for instance, a biographical sketch of the author.

It is now over forty years since the publication of *The History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia* by Reverend A. G. Morice, O.M.I. In the interim,

thanks to improved means of communication by road, rail, and air, life in "New Caledonia" has been transformed. Reverend F. E. Runnalls in *A History of Prince George* has done much to fill a long felt want in the history of this north central region, for he has written much more than the history of a single community. In reality the first twelve chapters of this book are regional in approach. The era of discovery by such giants as Sir Alexander Mackenzie and Simon Fraser and of the fur-trade companies is retold with adequate attention to the geological background of the region and its earlier aboriginal inhabitants. The impact of the gold discoveries in Cariboo, the gradual development of communications, and the work of the pioneer missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, are fitted into the overall picture of regional growth.

The second half of the book deals specifically with the growth of the community at the confluence of the Nechako and Fraser Rivers. All the romance implicit in the transformation from a fur-trading post to a commercial and communication centre is here to be found. Rivalries over railroad location sites, the thrill and tragedy of "boom and bust" real estate tactics, the struggle of pioneer local industries are all recounted faithfully. Nor is the development of community life ignored. This book is admirably illustrated and provides valuable lists of civic leaders in its appendices. It is, moreover, almost entirely free of typographical errors. Prince George is an ambitious community and Mr. Runnalls has been able to transmit to paper much of the spirit and determination which has nurtured the development of the city.

On a smaller scale Dr. F. W. Andrew has accomplished the same end in *The Story of Summerland*. Written for sale by the Summerland Branch of the Red Cross Society this booklet deals with the opening up and settlement of the Summerland district from the time of the cancellation of the grazing reserves in 1889 to the present day. Progress was slow in the first decade and a half—the period of pre-emption—but with the organization of the Summerland Development Company an impetus was given to the exploitation of the fruit growing capabilities of this fertile section of the Okanagan valley. Key events such as the establishment of the Dominion Experimental Station in 1914 and the opening of the Kettle Valley Railway the following year down to the more recent experiments in co-operative marketing find their place in the narrative. In fact all those interesting episodes in the evolution of the social and economic life of a community are recounted in a careful, and yet at times humorous, manner.

Still another contribution to the history of British Columbia has come from the pen of B. A. McKelvie. *Maquinna the Magnificent* is, however, more than the biography of one of the most famous of the Indian chiefs of the Pacific Northwest. It is a panorama of the whole period of the maritime fur trade from the point of view of the native inhabitants. It is this freshness of approach, rather than any addition of new material, that makes this book of interest to the local historian. To be sure all the great explorers and traders appear but it is always the reaction of Maquinna and his friends which receives the author's attention. It is a most attractively produced publication and the *Vancouver Daily Province* is to be congratulated on its publication for private distribution.

These six publications are interesting samples of recent local history in all its variety. They are neither of equal merit nor importance. They have achieved print by various means. Their appearance testifies to the growing interest in local history and can but give encouragement to others who have for years toiled patiently in the compilation of similar books.

WILLARD E. IRELAND

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RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

PREPARED BY THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

(Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review. The following abbreviations are used: B.R.H.—Bulletin des recherches historiques; C.H.R.—CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW; C.J.E.P.S.—Canadian journal of economics and political science.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE COMMONWEALTH

- CHATFIELD, Lord. *Imperial defence: "A combined operation"* (Commonwealth and Empire review, LXXX (517), June, 1946, 28-30).
- CLOUGH, OWEN (ed.). *Journal of the Society of Clerks-at-the-Table in Empire Parliaments, vol. XIII for 1944*. London: Butterworth and Co. 1945. Pp. 293. (£1) This annual publication contains a detailed study of procedure in the parliaments within the British Commonwealth. The present volume includes a number of points of interest arising in the Canadian Parliament, with particular attention to the revision of standing orders.
- COMSTOCK, ALZADA. *Canada's ties to Britain* (Current history, XI (62), Oct., 1946, 306-11). "The majority of Canadians value highly that slender political link which holds them to the British Crown . . . ; but when it comes to action they act for Canada first, last and all the time."
- GREENING, W. E. *Canada's attitude on British labour government* (Free world, XII (1, 2), July-Aug., 1946, 45-6). Is Canada veering more towards the United States than towards Britain? The author discusses mutual problems of the three countries.
- SHEARD, TERENCE. *The B.C.A.T.P. and defence policy* (International journal, II(1), winter, 1946-7, 37-45). The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan is one of the most astonishing examples of inter-Commonwealth co-operation.
- SNAPE, R. H. *Britain and the Empire 1867-1945: A history for schools*. Cambridge: At the University Press [Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada]. 1945. Pp. xvi, 339. (\$2.00)

II. CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

- ANGELL, NORMAN. *Does America need the British Empire?* (Empire digest, IV (1), Oct., 1946, 22-9). Whatever may be the ideal form of association between America and the British Empire, success for the United Nations demands, at the very least, that the two great democratic powers understand each other's policies and purposes.
- ANGERS, F.-A. *Cette affaire d'espionnage* (L'action nationale, XXVII (5), mai, 1946, 363-9).
- Canada, Secretary of State for External Affairs. *Report for the year ended December 31, 1945*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1946. Pp. 56. (10c.)
- MACDONALD, MALCOLM. *Canada and world affairs* (Empire digest, IV (2), Nov., 1946, 26-32). From an address of the Right Honourable Malcolm Macdonald, former high commissioner to Canada, presented before the Royal Empire Society.
- PATRY, ANDRÉ. *Considérations sur la politique étrangère du Canada* (Revue Dominicaine, LII (2), déc., 1946, 291-300). "Le prestige extérieur du Canada et l'unité intérieure de la nation canadienne exigent que nos gouvernants se montrent plus originaux et moins serviles aux yeux de l'univers."

THORNING, JOSEPH F. *The place of the American Republics and Canada in the new world order* (The Americas, III (2), Oct., 1946, 161-7). Suggests that America in the broad sense of the term can be the spearhead for a real United States of the World.

WELLES, SUMNER. *Co-operation between Canada and the United States in the search for world peace*. (A series of lectures delivered by Sumner Welles under the auspices of the J. W. Dafoe Foundation.) Winnipeg: J. W. Dafoe Foundation. 1946. Pp. vi, 49. To be reviewed later.

WHITAKER, ARTHUR P. (ed.). *Inter-American affairs 1945*. (An annual survey, no. 5.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1946. Pp. xii, 328. (\$3.75) To be reviewed later.

III. CANADA, THE WAR, AND RECONSTRUCTION

BENNETT, JOHN HYDE. *Canada's peacetime defence policy* (Canadian military journal, XIV (8), Christmas, 1946, 11-12). Since Canada cannot afford a large standing defence force, it should adopt a system whereby every man will have training which will not interfere greatly with his civilian life.

GIBSON, REX. *Troop training in the Rockies* (Canadian alpine journal, XXIX (2), 1946, 178-91). Tells of the training of the Lovat Scouts in high mountain warfare during the winter of 1943-4.

INCH, R. B. *The Canadian goes home* (Geographical magazine, XIX (8), Dec., 1946, 329-40). Describes the effect of their war experiences on returning Canadian soldiers, and the changes resulting from the war that they are encountering in Canada.

LE FRANÇOIS, JOSEPH. *Notre cause était juste* (L'action nationale, XXVII (5), mai, 1946, 334-57). Analyses the conditions of a just war and concludes that the recent war against Germany was a just one.

SIMONDS, PETER. *Maple leaf up, maple leaf down: The story of the Canadians in the Second World War*. New York: Island Press [Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders]. 1946. Pp. viii, 356. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.

IV. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

CALVIN, D. D. (selector). *John Macnaughton: Essays and addresses*. Kingston: Queen's University. 1946. Pp. xii, 319.

Canada, Dominion of. *Report of the Department of Public Archives for the year 1945* by GUSTAVE LANCTOT. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1946. Pp. xlix, 200. (\$1.00) In addition to brief groups of documents, the present report contains the calendar of Series Q on Upper Canada from 1838 to 1841.

CARR, EMILY. *Growing pains: The autobiography of Emily Carr*. With a foreword by IRA DILWORTH. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1946. Pp. xvi, 381. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.

Centenaire de l'Histoire du Canada de François-Xavier Garneau. (Deuxième semaine d'histoire à l'Université de Montréal, 23-27 avril 1945.) Montréal: Société Historique de Montréal. 1945. Pp. 460. To be reviewed later.

CREIGHTON, WILLIAM BLACK. *Round 'bout sun-up: Some memories that live*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1946. Pp. viii, 55. (\$1.00) To be reviewed later.

GILMOUR, CLYDE. *Big Larry of U.B.C.* (Maclean's magazine, LIX (21), Nov. 1, 1946, 9, 57-60). A feature article on the president of the University of British Columbia.

- GRIESEBACH, W. A. *I remember*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1946. Pp. vi, 353. (\$4.50) To be reviewed later.
- HARRIS, SEALE. *Banting's miracle: The story of the discoverer of insulin*. With a foreword by ELLIOT P. JOSLIN. Toronto and Vancouver: J. M. Dent and Sons (Canada). 1946. Pp. xx, 245. (\$3.50)
- LANCOT, GUSTAVE. *Garneau historien national*. Montréal: Éditions Fides. 1946. Pp. 205. To be reviewed later.
- LINDAL, W. J. *Canadian citizenship and our wider loyalties*. Foreword by SOLOMON FRANK. Winnipeg: Canada Press Club. 1946. Pp. xvi, 157.
- LOWER, ARTHUR R. M. *Colony to nation: A history of Canada*. With maps by T. W. McLEAN. [Toronto], London, New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1946. Pp. xvi, 600. (\$5.00) To be reviewed later.
- MACLENNAN, HUGH. *How we differ from Americans* (Maclean's magazine, LIX (24), Dec. 15, 1946, 9, 49, 50, 52, 54-5). A well-known Canadian novelist explores the gulf that divides Canadians from Americans—a gulf which he finds narrow but deep.
- MARSHALL, HERBERT. *Sedley Anthony Cudmore, 1878-1945* [obituary] (Journal of the American Statistical Association, XLI (233), Mar., 1946, 75-6). Dr. Cudmore was head of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics.
- MORRISON, NEIL F. *Community research and writing: Address to Windsor Rotary Club* (Western Ontario historical notes, IV (4), Dec., 1946, 77-84).
- Ontario Historical Society. *Papers and records*. Vol. XXXVII. Toronto: The Society. 1945. Pp. 104. Articles in this issue are listed separately in this bibliography.
- PRICE, ROBERT. *Mary Hartwell Catherwood's literary record of the Great Lakes and French-America* (Michigan history, XXX (4), Oct.-Dec., 1946, 759-63). Points out the magnitude of Mrs. Catherwood's literary accomplishment with French historical themes in general and with the Great Lakes area in particular, and prints a bibliography of her writing on Acadia and the St. Lawrence valley, the Great Lakes, the Mississippi valley, the Red River, and France.
- PRIOR, HUGH. *Viscount Alexander of Tunis and Errigal* (Empire digest, IV (1), Oct., 1946, 16-21). A biographical article on Canada's governor-general.
- SANDWELL, B. K. *The Montreal community and the Montreal newspaper press* (Saturday night, LXII (10), Nov. 9, 1946, 18). "Montreal has not now, and has not had for nearly a hundred years, an English-language newspaper made great by its editorial policies." Mr. Sandwell wonders if any change will be effected in this state of affairs by the appointment of George V. Ferguson, for many years chief assistant to the late J. W. Dafoe, to a controlling editorial position on the Montreal *Daily Star*.
- SISSONS, CONSTANCE KERR. *John Kerr*. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1946. Pp. xii, 282. (\$2.50) To be reviewed later.
- STEVENSON, LLOYD. *Sir Frederick Banting*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1946. Pp. xviii, 446.
- TROTTER, REGINALD G. *Charters of our freedom*. Toronto: Ginn and Company. 1946. Pp. vi, 138.
- (2) **Discovery and Exploration**
- DELANGLEZ, JEAN. *The "Recit des voyages et des decouvertes du Père Jacques Marquette"* (Mid-America, XXVIII (3), July, 1946, 173-94; XXVIII (4), Oct., 1946, 211-58). Attempts to disprove conclusively Marquette's authorship of the *Recit*, to show that Dablon was its real author, and to make clear the sources on which he relied.

- DELAIGNETTE, R. and JULIEN, CH.-A. *Les constructeurs de la France d'Outre-Mer. (Les Grandes Professions Françaises: Collection d'Anthologies dirigée par Ch. BRAIBANT.)* Paris: Éditions Corrèa. 1946. Pp. 525. To be reviewed later.
- DOUVILLE, RAYMOND. *Les premiers seigneurs et colons de Sainte-Anne de la Pérade, 1667-1681.* Trois Rivières: Éditions du Bien Public. 1946. Pp. 174. To be reviewed later.
- EAVENSON, HOWARD N. *Two early works on Arctic exploration by an anonymous author.* Pittsburgh: The author. 1946. The works in question are *An Account of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage by Hudson's Straights ... in the Ship California* (London, 1748) and *The Great Probability of a North-west Passage* (London, 1768). By internal textual evidence the author deduces that both works were written by Charles Swaine, who was associated with Benjamin Franklin and others in organizing two voyages of the schooner *Argo* from Philadelphia in search of a North-West Passage in 1753 and 1754.
- GAGNON, ERNEST. *Louis Joliet: Découvreur du Mississippi et du pays des Illinois, premier seigneur de l'Île d'Anticosti: Étude biographique et historique.* Edited by R. P. ADRIEN FOULIOT. Montréal: Beauchemin. 1946. Pp. 358. To be reviewed later.
- HOLAND, HJALMAR R. *America 1355-1364: A new chapter in pre-Columbian history.* New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce [Toronto: Wm. Collins and Sons]. 1946. Pp. xiv, 256. (\$4.50) To be reviewed later.
- JULIEN, CH.-A., RÉNÉ HERVAL, et TH. BEAUCHESNE (eds.). *Les Français en Amérique pendant la première moitié du XVI^e siècle: Textes de voyages de Gonneville Verrazano, J. Cartier et Roberval.* With an introduction by CH.-A. JULIEN. (Colonies et Empires. Collection Internationale de Documentation Coloniale published under the direction of CH.-A. JULIEN; deuxième série, Les Classiques de la Colonisation, vol. I.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1946. Pp. 223. To be reviewed later.
- MIRSKY, JEANNETTE. *The westward crossings: Balboa, Mackenzie, Lewis and Clark.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1946. Pp. xvi, 382. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.
- PARKER, ELIZABETH. *Early explorers of the West* (Canadian alpine journal, XXIX (2), 1946, 213-28). The first part of this article appeared in the 1944-5 issue of the *Journal*. This section deals with Daniel Williams Harmon and David Thompson.
- WINDELL, MARIE G. (ed.). *The French in the valley.* Part V (Missouri historical review, XLI (1), Oct., 1946, 77-106). Discusses the influence of the fur trade in the Missouri valley during the French occupation.
- (3) **New France**
- BRILL, ETHEL C. *Madeleine takes command.* Illustrated by BRUCE ADAMS. New York, London: McGraw-Hill Book Co. [Toronto: Embassy Book Company]. 1946. Pp. xiv, 204.
- Charles-Baptiste Bouc, député de Terrebonne (B. R. H., LII (9), sept., 1946, 259-70). Examines the reasons for the expulsion of Bouc from the assembly of Lower Canada in 1802.
- FILTEAU, GÉRARD. *La civilisation canadienne avant la conquête* (L'action national, XXVIII (4), déc., 1946, 251-69). In the half century before 1760, the French in Canada developed a culture so vital that nothing has been able to kill it.
- FRÉGAULT, GUY. *Ennemond Massé* (L'action nationale, XXVIII (2), oct., 1946, 101-16). Tells of the Jesuit missionary, Ennemond Massé who, with the exception of a few years, worked in New France from 1625 until his death at Sillery in 1648.

- FRÉGAULT, GUY. *Monsieur Bigot* (L'action nationale, XXVIII (4), déc., 1946, 271-88). Of the administration of François Bigot, intendant of New France, 1748-59.
- GIRAUD, MARCEL. *Histoire du Canada*. ("Que sais-je?" Le point des connaissances actuelles.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1946. Pp. 135. A brief narrative history, emphasizing the early periods, and with little attempt at interpretation.
- GROULX, LIONEL. *L'orientation fatale* (L'action nationale, XXVIII (2), oct., 1946, 91-100). The Treaty of Utrecht marked a turning point in the history of New France. Only a prompt reorientation of policy on the part of the French court could have saved New France and that did not take place.
- MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Inexplicable drames* (B.R.H., LII (8), août, 1946, 230-3). Tells of some unexplained maritime disasters.
- ROBITAILLE, ADRIEN. *Un serviteur méconnu du Canada: Abraham Gradis, 1599-1789* (Carnets viatoriens, XIe année, no. 4, oct., 1946, 247-51). Abraham Gradis, a Jewish ship-owner of Bordeaux, provided the ships which supplied New France during the last years of the French régime in America.
- ROTHNEY, GORDON O. *Les vainqueurs* (L'action nationale, XXVIII (4), déc., 1946, 289-307). To understand the conquest of Canada it is necessary to understand the attitude of those in England responsible for it and the attitude of their successors toward the conquered.
- R[oy], P.-G. *Les maîtres d'écoles laïques dans la Nouvelle-France* (B.R.H., LII (12), déc., 1946, 371-3). The author states that religious teachers did not monopolize education in the French Régime.
- *Les seigneuries de la Nouvelle-France* (B.R.H., LII (12), déc., 1946, 355-69).
- *Le Sieur Guillaume Estèbe* (B.R.H., LII (7), juillet, 1946, 195-207). Guillaume Estèbe arrived at Quebec about 1728, poor as a church mouse, and when he left it, after about a quarter of a century, he was worth several hundred thousand livres. He can be classed among the big profiteers of the colony.
- SÉQUIN, MAURICE. *La conquête et la vie économique des Canadiens* (L'action nationale, XXVIII (4), déc., 1946, 308-26). "Un jour ou l'autre, l'occasion se présentera pour la nation canadienne de renouer, sans danger, avec les traditions d'avant '37 et de débarrasser son économie de la tutelle paralysante de l'Occupant."
- SMELSER, MARSHALL. *The insular campaign of 1759: Martinique* (American neptune, VI (4), Oct., 1946, 290-300). Describes Pitt's campaign against the French West Indies in 1758-9, and its inglorious beginning at Martinique.
- (4) **British North America before 1867**
- BISCHOFF, WILLIAM N. *The Jesuits in old Oregon (1840-1940)*. Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers. 1945. Pp. xx, 258. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.
- BULL, HENRY D. (ed.). *A Note on James Stuart, Loyalist clergyman in South Carolina* (Journal of southern history, XII (4), Nov., 1946, 570-5).
- COMETTI, ELIZABETH. *Morals and the American Revolution* (South Atlantic quarterly, XLVI (1), Jan., 1947, 62-71). In general, restrictive measures were ineffectual in curbing moral laxity during the American Revolution.
- HAMEL, MARCEL. *Le rapport Durham* (L'action nationale, XXVIII (3), oct., 1946, 119-30). Concerning the Durham Report, the author writes: "Dommage qu'on ne connaisse pas davantage cet écrit politique! Il est la chartre de l'Union de la Confédération et demain peut-être de l'Union législative."

- HOOD, ROBERT ALLISON. *Ballads of the Pacific North-West: Its discovery and settlement*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1946. Pp. xii, 170. (\$2.50) To be reviewed later.
- LUCEY, WILLIAM L. *Loyalists and the American Revolution* (Historical bulletin, XXIV (1), Nov., 1945, 3-4, 13-14). Though considerable culture, political experience, and respectable virtues left America with the Loyalists, enough political wisdom remained to frame a remarkable constitution within fifteen years.
- METZGER, CHARLES H. *The American Revolution: Subject for study* (Historical bulletin, XXIV (3), Mar., 1946, 55-6, 63-4). The American Revolution, despite recent work done on it, is still a promising field of study.
- REID, DAVID S. *An analysis of British parliamentary opinion on American affairs at the close of the War of Independence* (Journal of modern history, XVIII (3), Sept., 1946, 202-21).
- RICH, E. E. (ed.). *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company 1679-1684*. First part, 1679-82. With an introduction by G. N. CLARK. Toronto: Champlain Society. 1945. Pp. xlv, 378, xv. To be reviewed later.
- SCOTT, KENNETH. *Price control in New England during the revolution* (New England quarterly, XIX (4), Dec., 1946, 453-73). Early in the American Revolution, the attention of the authorities of New England was directed to the question of the regulation of prices. However, attempts at price control during the Revolution were all ineffectual.
- SPRAGGE, GEORGE W. (ed.). *The John Strachan letter book, 1812-1834*. Edited with an introduction and notes by GEORGE W. SPRAGGE. Toronto: Ontario Historical Society. 1946. Pp. xxxiv, 279. (\$5.00) To be reviewed later.
- TRUEMAN, A. W. *The story of the United Empire Loyalists*. Illustrated by J. MERLE SMITH. (Canadian Social Studies Unit Readers.) Toronto: Copp Clark Co. 1946. Pp. 36. (85c.)
- WATER, FREDERIC F. VAN. *Lake Champlain and Lake George*. (American Lakes series, edited by MILO M. QUAIFFE.) New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1946. Pp. 381.

(5) The Dominion of Canada

- ANGERS, FRANÇOIS-ALBERT. *L'heure de la grande offensive centralisatrice* (L'action nationale, XXVIII (1), sept., 1946, 9-21). The Dominion-Provincial Conference which opened in August, 1945 closed in April, 1946 "sur un échec attribuable en entier à l'incroyable et impudente intransigence des autorités fédérales."
- ARMOUR, STUART. *Can we solve our problems by union with the U.S.?* (Saturday night, LXII (15), Dec. 14, 1946, 6-7). The author does not think that we can. Instead of attempting to escape from our problems by surrendering our sovereignty, we should seek some unifying factor to take the place of the fear and the pride which brought about the original union of the Canadian provinces.
- Canada, House of Commons. *Official report of debates, first session, twentieth parliament, 9-10 George VI, 1945*. In 3 vols; index issued separately. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1946. Pp. 3755.
- _____. *Official report of debates, first session, twentieth parliament, 9-10 George VI, 1945*. Index volume. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1947. Pp. xii, 174.
- CORRELL, ERNST (ed.). *The debates in the Canadian House of Commons on the Mennonite immigration from Russia in 1873-74* (Mennonite quarterly review, XX (4), Oct., 1946, 255-75). Reproduces the debates in the Canadian Parliament in 1875 on the \$100,000 loan extended by Canada towards the settlement of Russian Mennonites on government land grants in Manitoba.

- CORRY, J. A. *Democratic government and politics*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1946. Pp. viii, 468. (\$3.75) Reviewed on p. 72.
- EASTON, STEWART C. *A national ideal is this nation's greatest need* (Saturday night, LXII (19), Jan. 11, 1947, 6-7). "Our national cultural frustration is due to the fact that we have no national ideal to follow, though we have all the economic resources and individuality to create a true nation."
- EGGLESTON, WILFRID. *The road to nationhood: A chronicle of Dominion-provincial relations*. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1946. Pp. xviii, 337. (\$2.50) Reviewed on p. 72.
- Forum on citizenship*. (Winnipeg Free Press pamphlet no. 11.) Winnipeg: Winnipeg Free Press. 1947. Pp. 11. Contains five articles, written by editors of weeklies serving the needs of different language groups in Winnipeg, to commemorate the coming into force of the new Canadian citizenship bill.
- HARE, F. KENNETH. *Regionalism: A development in political geography* (Public affairs, X (1), Dec., 1946, 34-9). Defines regionalism, describes the regional planning authorities of the Canadian federal government, and discusses the proper place of the region in political organization.
- LAING, LIONEL H. *The nature of Canada's parliamentary representation* (C.J.E.P.S., XII (4), Nov., 1946, 509-15). Analyses the background of Canada's members of parliament with reference to age, occupational interests, and educational, religious, and nationality factors.
- MACDONALD, D. C. *The three P's and political trends* (Canadian forum, XXVI (311), Dec., 1946, 199-201). Analyses the results of the three recent by-elections in Pontiac, Parkdale, and Portage La Prairie.
- SANDWELL, B. K. *Canada's chief achievement in fifty years is bewilderment* (Saturday night, LXII (15), Dec. 14, 1946, 28-9). On his seventieth birthday, Mr. Sandwell casts a reflective eye over the fifty years that he has been surveying the Canadian scene.
- TUCK, RAPHAEL. *The dangers of dissolution of parliament* (Public affairs, IX (4), Sept., 1946, 215-19). The author believes that on the decision made concerning the length of the term of the Canadian Parliament depends the question of whether we are to have a strong, stable, and responsible government, or are to see a degeneration into weak, unstable, and more or less irresponsible factions.

V. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

- FISHER, CLAUDE L. *The friendliness of New Brunswick* (Empire digest, IV (3), Dec., 1946, 62-71). No. 8 in a series on the provinces of Canada.
- MAXWELL, L. M. B. *The river St. John and its poets*. With a foreword by Dr. J. CLARENCE WEBSTER. 1946. Pp. 63.
- RADDALL, T. H. *Happy island* (Maclean's magazine, LIX (21), Nov. 1, 1946, 23, 24, 34, 36). A descriptive article on the little island of Tancook at the mouth of Chester Bay, Nova Scotia.

(2) The Province of Quebec

- BENOIST, EMILE. *Rimouski et les pays d'en-bas*. Montréal: Éditions du Devoir. 1945. Pp. 193.
- FISHER, CLAUDE L. *Quebec: The land of Jean Baptiste* (Empire digest, IV (2), Nov., 1946, 56-68). No. 7 in a series on the provinces of Canada.
- MILLMAN, T. R. *A short history of the parish of Dunham*. Dunham, P.Q.: The author. 1946. Pp. 66. (\$1.60) To be reviewed later.

PATRY, ANDRÉ. *Notre vocation culturelle* (Revue Dominicaine, LII (2), 1946, 204-8). "Avec sa religion universelle et sa culture non moins universelle, le Canada français doit devenir l'un des centres de la civilisation continentale."

RUMILLY, ROBERT. *Histoire de la Province de Québec*. XVII. *Les écoles du Keewatin*. XVIII. *Le règlement 17*. Montréal: Éditions Bernard Valiquette. 1946. Pp. 245; 282. To be reviewed later.

SAUNDERS, RICHARD M. *The French-Canadian outlook*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1946. Pp. 16. (25c.) This is a reprint of an address presented to the 1946 meeting of the Modern Language Section, Ontario Educational Association. Professor Saunders believes that Canada must of necessity build its true unity and future greatness upon the basis of a dual culture. On no other foundation can a greater Canada be securely built.

La vocation de la race française en Amérique du Nord. Québec: Comité Permanent de la Survivance Française en Amérique. 1945. Pp. 199. To be reviewed later.

(3) The Province of Ontario

ATKINSON, J. E. *John Charlton, M. P.: North Norfolk's veteran representative in the Commons* (Western Ontario historical notes, IV (3), Sept., 1946, 57-63). Reprints an appreciation of John Charlton, prominent Western Ontario member of parliament, which was published in a special issue of the *Simcoe Reformer*, October 3, 1895.

BARNETT, Major JOHN. *A small community grave ground one hundred and twenty years old* (Ontario Historical Society papers and records, XXXVII, 1945, 31-4). Notes on Spring Creek grave ground in Peel County, Ontario, which is unique in never having had either church or local government support or connexion.

BOTSFORD, DAVID. *Amherstburg sesquicentennial* (Western Ontario historical notes, IV (3), Sept., 1946, 54-7). An address given on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the founding of Amherstburg.

BURKHOLDER, MABEL. *Palative settlements in York County* (Ontario Historical Society papers and records, XXVII, 1945, 81-96). Describes the work of William Berczy, in founding the settlement in Markham, and gives brief biographies of some early settlers.

DUNHAM, B. MABEL. *Mid-European backgrounds of Waterloo County* (Ontario Historical Society papers and records, XXXVII, 1945, 59-70). Notes on the origins of the Mennonite and Amish people of Waterloo County, Ontario.

FERRIS, TERRY. *The formative years of the London and Port Stanley Railway Company, 1852-1856*. (Western Ontario History Nuggets, no. 11.) London: Lawson Memorial Library. 1946. Pp. 20.

FLEMING, ROY L. *Abigail Becker: Heroine of Long Point, Lake Erie* (Inland seas, II (4), Oct., 1946, 219-23). Tells the story of the heroic feats of life saving performed by Abigail Becker on the shore of Lake Erie in 1854.

FOX, WILLIAM SHERWOOD. *'T aint runnin' no more: The story of Grand Bend, the pinery, and the old river bed*. Frontispiece by MIRIAM FOX SQUIRES. Illustrations by CLARE BICE. London, Ont.: Wendell Holmes. 1946. Pp. xvi, 55. To be reviewed later.

FRASER, L. R. *History of Muskoka*. Bracebridge: Thomas Company. 1946. Pp. 152. (\$1.25) "The purpose of this little book, is to depict the lives and work of the ordinary men and women who changed Muskoka from a Wilderness to one of the foremost tourist resorts of America."

- HALE, KATHERINE. *This is Ontario*. Photographs by Sir ELLSWORTH FLAVELLE. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1946. Pp. xiv, 245. (\$2.50) To be reviewed later.
- HAMIL, FRED COYNE. *Lord Selkirk in Upper Canada* (Ontario Historical Society papers and records, XXXVII, 1945, 35-48). An account of Selkirk's colonizing project at Baldoon in Upper Canada based mainly on transcripts of the Selkirk papers in the Public Archives of Canada.
- Huron Old Boys' Re-Union, July 1, 1946: *Record of the School Section 1856-1946*. [Exeter?] [1946.] Pp. 14. This souvenir booklet contains a historical sketch of School Section no. 1, Usborne Township, Huron County.
- For ninety years this school has played the role of a typical rural school. The committee which wrote the booklet is to be congratulated on turning out an interesting narrative.
- The contribution of the school to the professional life of the country is shown by a list of pupils who went on into various professions. No less than four pupils became clergymen, nine became medical doctors, three became dentists, two became lawyers, and many became teachers. The westward movement of families from Huron County is shown by the numbers who did their work in Western Canada. For example, three of the clergy served some years in Saskatchewan. Similarly, numbers from the other professions went to the West or emigrated to the United States. Altogether this little booklet is a useful addition to the history of education in Ontario. [JAMES J. TALMAN]
- JEFFERY, R. A. *Macnab*. Foleyet, Ont.: Macnab Historical Association. 1946. Pp. 27. (35c.) The purpose of this brief history of Macnab is to recount the strange circumstances incident to the coming to Canada of Archibald McNab, last chieftain of the clan, and the development of the municipality of McNab.
- JONES, ROGER M. *The Yankcanuck* (Inland seas, II (4), Oct., 1946, 270-2). The Canadian steamer *Yankcanuck* is one of the oldest and most unusual ships sailing the Great Lakes today.
- LAWRENCE, SARAH. *Walter Lawrence, pioneer: 1807-1880* (Western Ontario historical notes, IV (3), Sept., 1946, 63-8).
- MORLEY, E. LILLIAN. *The Riley homestead* (Western Ontario historical notes, IV (3), Sept., 1946, 51-3). In 1846 Charles Riley took up lot three, concession twelve Morington Township, which still remains in the Riley name.
- MURRAY, J. MCE. *John Norton* (Ontario Historical Society papers and records, XXXVII, 1945, 7-16). Notes on a hitherto little known figure of Upper Canadian history.
- NEWMAN, W. M. *Warton's busy mills were centre of industry in Bruce Peninsula* (Western Ontario historical notes, IV (4), Dec., 1946, 84-91). Describes the development and decline of the lumber industry in the still-prominent Bruce County community of Warton.
- TOLAN, STANLEY C. *Christian Warner—a Methodist pioneer* (Ontario Historical Society papers and records, XXXVII, 1945, 71-9). About Christian Warner, a Loyalist soldier and one of the founders of Methodism in the Niagara district.
- WATSON, E. H. A. *History Ontario Red Cross, 1914-1946*. (The story of Red Cross activities in Ontario in World War I, in the peacetime period from 1919 to 1939 and of the work of the Ontario Division in World War II.) Toronto: Ontario Division Headquarters. 1946. Pp. xii, 91.
- WATSON, J. W. *The changing industrial pattern of the Niagara peninsula: A study in historical geography* (Ontario Historical Society papers and records, XXXVII, 1945, 49-58).
- WAY, RONALD L. *Ontario's Niagara parks: A history*. Published by the Niagara Parks Commission. 1946. Pp. xviii, 349.

(4) The Prairie Provinces

FISHER, CLAUDE L. *Manitoba the bountiful* (Empire digest, IV (4), Jan.-Feb., 1947, 61-8). No. 9 in a series on the provinces of Canada.

_____. *Saskatchewan where wheat is king* (Empire digest, IV (1), Oct., 1946, 61-9). No. 6 in the series on the provinces of Canada.

KAVANAGH, MARTIN. *The Assiniboine basin: A social study of the discovery, exploration and settlement of Manitoba*. Winnipeg: Public Press. 1946. Pp. xviii, 283. (\$5.00) To be reviewed later.

Regina (Monetary times, CXIV (12), Dec., 1946, 30-3, 107). Another in the Monetary Times "Cities of Canada" series.

(5) British Columbia and the North-West Coast

ANDREW, F. W. *The story of Summerland*. Penticton: Penticton Herald. [1945.] Pp. 55. (\$1.50) Reviewed on p. 87.

BOUTILIER, HELEN R. *Vancouver's earliest days* (British Columbia historical quarterly, X (2), Apr., 1946, 151-70).

BURRARD, GERALD. *The naming of Burrard Inlet* (British Columbia historical quarterly, X (2), Apr., 1946, 143-9). The author believes that Captain George Vancouver named Burrard Inlet after Sir Harry Burrard the first Baronet, not after Admiral Sir Harry Burrard-Neale, the second Baronet, as is widely believed.

GOODFELLOW, FLORENCE. *Memories of pioneer life in British Columbia*. Wenatchee, Wash.: The author. 1945. Pp. 43. Reviewed on p. 87.

MCGREGOR, D. A. *Adventures of Vancouver newspapers: 1892-1926* (British Columbia historical quarterly, X (2), Apr., 1946, 89-142). This article forms a sequel to that of Miss Bessie Lamb which appeared in the July, 1945 Quarterly. See C.H.R., June, 1946, p. 224.

MACKAY, CORDAY. *Along the Big Bend highway* (The beaver, outfit 277, Dec., 1946, 14-21). The Columbia River route in British Columbia, formerly traversed by David Thompson, Paul Kane, David Douglas and other famous travellers can now be viewed by automobile since the opening of the Big Bend Highway in 1940.

McKELVIE, B. A. *Maquinna the magnificent*. Vancouver: Vancouver Daily Province. 1946. Pp. ix, 65. Reviewed on p. 88.

WALTER, MARGARET. *Early days among the Gulf Islands of British Columbia*. [Victoria: Diggon Hibben.] [1946.] Pp. 67. Reviewed on p. 87.

(6) North West Territories, Labrador, and the Arctic Regions

DUNBAR, M. J. *Our ignorance of the Eastern Arctic* (Public affairs, X (1), Dec., 1946, 25-9). "We will need more stations, more ships, more money and above all more trained field-workers if this ignorance of our own north is to be wiped out. It is a truly Canadian responsibility."

FRASER, BLAIR. *The watch on the Arctic* (Maclean's magazine, LIX (23), Dec. 1, 1946, 7, 8, 69-71). Military men consider the Arctic America's most vulnerable frontier. This is an informed report on what they are thinking and planning to do to meet the problem.

HAVIGHURST, WALTER. *Land of promise: The story of the Northwest Territory*. New York: Macmillan Company [Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada]. 1946. Pp. viii, 384. (\$3.25) To be reviewed later.

HEWETSON, H. W. *What are the possibilities of settlement in Canada's North Land?* (Public affairs, X (1), Dec., 1946, 20-5). Discusses the question under such headings as agriculture, climate, trapping, minerals, and oil and pitchblende.

MANNING, MRS. TOM. *Igloo for the night*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1946. Pp. 234. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.

STEFANSSON, JILHJALMUR. *The Arctic in fact and fable*. (Headline series, Mar.-Apr., 1945, no. 51.) New York: Foreign Policy Association. 1945. Pp. 96. (25c.)

WORDIE, J. M. *The voyage of the St. Roch through the North-West Passage, 1944* (Polar record, IV (30), July, 1945, 259-63).

(7) Newfoundland

JACKSON, RUPERT. *Newfoundland's future: Wanted, an honoured place in the Empire* (Commonwealth and Empire review, LXXX (517), June, 1946, 50-2).

JOHNSTONE, KEN. *The convention moves slowly* (Atlantic guardian, II (11), Nov., 1946, 16-19). Whatever the recommendations that the Newfoundland National Convention makes concerning the future status of the island, they will have been made only after an exhaustive survey and thorough discussion.

VI. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, SCIENCE, AND STATISTICS

(1) General

REEDS, L. G. *Land utilization in central Ontario* (Economic geography, XXII (4), Oct., 1946, 289-306). Points out variations in land use and indicates their relationship to physical characteristics of the natural environment.

STEWART, J. H. *Young Canada goes to work*. Assisted by H. Y. HAINES, T. M. SPENCER, C. B. WILLIS and HAROLD P. JOHNS. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1946. Pp. xii, 204.

(2) Agriculture

REAMAN, GEORGE ELMORE. *History of the Holstein-Friesian breed in Canada*. Toronto: Wm. Collins Sons and Company. 1946. Pp. xviii, 585. (\$6.50) To be reviewed later.

(3) Immigration, Emigration, Colonization, Population, and Population Groups

ANGUS, H. F. *Asiatics in Canada* (Pacific affairs, XIX (4), Dec., 1946, 402-8). Describes the present fortunes and prospects of the three main Asiatic racial groups in Canada—East Indians, Chinese, and Japanese—with special reference to the latter.

— *East Indians in Canada* (International journal, II (1), winter, 1946-7, 47-50). Equal rights could be given to the few hundred East Indians in Canada by changing a few words in a British Columbia statute. Such sympathetic consideration by a British Dominion might not be without influence on India's decision as to whether she will remain within or secede from the British Commonwealth.

The determinants of Canadian immigration policy (Round table, no. 145, Dec., 1946, 51-7). The day of mass immigration to Canada is over. "The inertia of Canadian economic and political life is opposed to anything more ambitious than reciprocal freedom of movement among English speaking countries and, possibly, some active steps to secure classes of immigrants for whom a real economic need may appear."

FOWKE, EDITH. *Justice and Japanese Canadians* (Canadian forum, XXVI (312), Jan., 1947, 225-6).

MACDONALD, DONALD C. *We need an immigration policy* (Canadian business, XIX (9), Sept., 1946, 15-17, 84, 86, 88).

ROSENBERG, LOUIS. *A population study of the Winnipeg Jewish community.* (Canadian Jewish Population Studies.) Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress. 1946. Pp. viii, 96. (\$1.00)

SANDWELL, B. K. *Our immigration problem: Some facts and fallacies* (Queen's quarterly, LIII (4), winter, 1946-7, 502-10).

TAYLOR, GRIFFITH. *Future population in Canada: A study in technique* (Economic geography, XXII (1), Jan., 1946, 67-74). From present data on Canadian settlement, attempts to forecast what the population spread will be like in two or three generations.

(5) Transportation and Communication

HODGETTS, J. E. *Administration and politics: The case of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation* (C.J.E.P.S., XII (4), Nov., 1946, 454-69).

(6) Science

OUELLET, CYRIAS. *Notre avenir scientifique* (L'action nationale, XXVIII (2), oct., 1946, 145-50).

STANLEY, G. D. *Medical pioneering in Alberta: Dr. Edward M. Sharpe* (Calgary Associate Clinic historical bulletin, XI (3), Nov., 1946, 57-63).

VII. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

CHARTIER, EMILE. *Le Collège Stanislas* (L'action nationale, XXVIII (2), Oct., 1946, 85-90). Comments on the attempt that was made in 1938 to establish at Montreal a branch of the College Stanislas of Paris.

L'École des Glacis à Québec (B.R.H., LII (8), août, 1946, 238-49).

PARENT, ALPHONSE-MARIE. *Le rôle des universités canadiennes-françaises* (L'action nationale, XXVIII (1), sept., 1946, 22-32). The author believes that one of the functions of the French-Canadian universities should be the comparative study of civilizations which influence French Canada, and that for this study it is one of the best situated countries in the world. He asks whether the role of universities should not be that of integrating into the national life all the best products of humanity.

PERCIVAL, WALTER PILLING. *Across the years: A century of education in the province of Quebec.* Montreal: Gazette Printing Co. 1946. Pp. xviii, 195.

R[oy] P.-G. *Les premiers manuels scolaires canadiens* (B.H.R., LII (11), nov., 1946, 323-41). Notes the first text-books published in Canada in a large number of different fields such as history, chemistry, philosophy, algebra, botany, geometry, geology, electricity, etc.

STAVELOT, JEAN DE *L'introduction du baccalauréat français au Canada.* Montréal: Éditions Fides; Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université. 1946. Pp. 109.

VIII. RELIGIOUS HISTORY

CLARK, S. D. *The religious sect in Canadian economic development* (C.J.E.P.S., XII (4), Nov., 1946, 439-53). Suggests in general terms the way in which religious developments were related to other developments in the life of the community.

DONZE, JEAN. *The Indians at the crossroads* (Oblate missions, no. 8, Dec., 1946, 7-8). Methods of evangelizing among the Indians.

The Kootenay Missions (Oblate missions, no. 8, Dec., 1946, 11-13). Describes St. Eugene Mission, about six miles from the town of Cranbrook, British Columbia.

IX. GENEALOGY

- BORDUAS, JEAN-RODOLPHE. *L'ascendance française de Jean-François Bourdua* (B.R.H., LIII (1), janv., 1947, 22-8).
- DEROME, GASTON. *Le patriote Joseph Marceau* (B.R.H., LII (11), nov., 1946, 344-7). Genealogical notes on Joseph Marceau, patriot of 1837-8.
- HAMEL, G. *Le frère Joseph Séguin* (B.R.H., LIII (1) janv., 1947, 21-2). Biographical notes on Joseph Séguin who published in Montreal in 1893 a manual of geometry.
- MALCHELOSSE, GÉRARD. *Zachary et George-Henry Macaulay* (B.H.R., LII (9), sept., 1946, 271-5).
- Références biographiques Canadiennes* (B.R.H., LII (8), août, 1946, 227-9; LII (9), sept., 1946, 284-6).
- ROY, LÉON. *La famille Michel-dit-Taillon* (B.H.R., LII (12), déc., 1946, 373-9).
- *Guillaume Lizot et Anne Pelletier* (B.H.R., LII (8), août, 1946, 233-8).
- *Jean Leclerc-dit-Francoeur* (B.R.H., LII (9), sept., 1946, 277-8).
- *Pierre Joncas-dit-Lapierre* (B.R.H., LII (7), juillet, 1946, 209-13).

XI. ART AND LITERATURE

- BROWN, F. MAUD. *Eric Brown: His contribution to the National Gallery* (Canadian art, IV (1), Nov., 1946, 8-15, 32-3). Describes the work of Eric Brown, former director of the National Gallery of Canada, in fostering the development of this institution.
- BRUCE, ROBERT. *An artist with exercise Muskox* (Canadian art, IV (1), Nov., 1946, 18-21). The author believes that the Eskimo culture offers a great deal to the painter or sculptor.
- CAMERON, DONALD. *Banff—Canadian art centre* (Food for thought, VII (2), Nov., 1946, 19-22, 34-5). The Banff School is becoming one of the leading centres of the fine arts in Canada.
- CLAY, CHARLES. *Cavalcade of Canadian letters: A survey over 25 years* (Saturday night, LXII (9), Nov. 2, 1946, 20). "In 25 years Canadian Literature has not only achieved maturity but has also won an honored place among the Literatures of the world."
- COLGATE, WILLIAM. *Hoppner Meyer: A painter and engraver of Upper Canada* (Ontario Historical Society papers and records, XXXVII, 1945, 17-29). Of the life and work of the Toronto portrait painter Hoppner Meyer whose probable dates are from 1808 to 1880.
- DICKSON-KENWIN, G. *The Canadian theatre: The need for training, discipline, and purpose* (Canadian review of music and art, V (4, 5), Oct.-Nov., 1946, 20, 30).
- DUVAL, PAUL. *Canadian ballet* (Empire digest, IV (4), Jan.-Feb., 1947, 12-16).
- FOREST, LOUIS. *A brief outline of bookbinding* (Canadian review of music and art, V (4, 5), Oct.-Nov., 1946, 37, 40, 45). "We have, after our fashion in Canada, had bookbinders who have made history."
- GARIÉPY, MADELEINE. *Nos romans réalistes* (L'action nationale, XXVIII (3), Nov., 1946, 179-88). Discusses the development of realism in French-Canadian fiction writing.
- HARRINGTON, LYN. *Chiselling is a fine art* (Canadian business, XIX (7), July, 1946, 30-1, 90). Tells of the accomplishments in wood carving of two Toronto artists.

- HONDERICH, RUTH. *The Toronto Symphony Orchestra* (Canadian review of music and art, V (4, 5), Oct.-Nov., 1946, 33-44). Describes the origins and history of the Toronto Symphony.
- HUTCHINGS, CHARLES L. *A Canadian painter in seven-league boots: R. York Wilson, A.R.C.A., P.O.S.A.* (Canadian review of music and art, V (4, 5), Oct.-Nov., 1946, 13-16, 40). Of York Wilson's early life and dramatic entry into Canadian painting.
- KIDD, KENNETH. *The wanderings of Kane* (The beaver, outfit 277, Dec., 1946, 3-9). Describes the life and work of Paul Kane, and his great sketching trip which was the basis of his hundred and more oil paintings of Indians, Indian camps, and Canadian scenery.
- MCANDREW, ALLAN. *A Canadian disciple of François Mauriac: Robert Charbonneau* (University of Toronto quarterly, XVI (1), Oct., 1946, 42-5). M. Charbonneau is a French-Canadian novelist who writes, not in the usual patriotic parochial tone, but in the psychological tradition of Proust and Mauriac.
- MCLEOD, CARROLL. *George Broomfield—artist* (Canadian review of music and art, V (4, 5) Oct.-Nov., 1946, 23, 27-8, 46). Mr. Broomfield, who has spent over four years of travel with the R.C.A.F., is today one of the few Canadian artists permanently retained to direct, design, and colour projects for a great industrial concern.
- MINER, MURIEL MILLER. *G. A. Reid: Canadian artist*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1946. Pp. xvi, 230. (\$5.00) To be reviewed later.
- PARIZEAU, LUCIEN. *The French tradition in publishing* (Canadian art, III (4), summer, 1946, 145-9). M. Parizeau, who became a publisher in March, 1944 and whose books have attracted widespread attention for their good printing and distinguished design, believes that if "publishing is not allowed to languish in Canada, we shall not only produce better books, and give greater opportunities to our artists, but we shall help to raise the whole standard of culture of the country."
- PARKER, J. DELISLE. *The little theatre movement in British Columbia* (Canadian review of music and art, V (1), Feb., 1946, 25-6, 34).
- PATTON, RANDOLPH. *A national ballet for Canada* (Canadian art, III (3), Apr.-May, 1946, 109-11). The conditions in which a national ballet is possible are emerging in Canada.
- PINCOE, GRACE. *Two Western Ontario artists: Robert Whale 1805 or 1807-1887; William Nicol Cresswell 1822-1888* (Western Ontario historical notes, IV (2), June, 1946, 39-45).
- The Quebec tradition: An anthology of French-Canadian prose and verse*. Selected by SÉRAPHIN MARION, and translated into English by WATSON KIRKCONNELL. (Collection Humanitas, published under the patronage of the Faculty of Letters, University of Montreal.) Montréal: Éditions Lumen. 1946. Pp. 245. Reviewed on p. 86.
- ROBERTSON, J. L. *The little theatre movement in Nova Scotia* (Canadian review of music and art, V (1), Feb., 1946, 14-16).
- ROBINSON, NOEL. *History of the Art, Historical and Scientific Association, Vancouver's first cultural association*. Vancouver: The Association. 1944. Pp. 20.
- SMALLWOOD, IRIS. *Women's symphony* (Maclean's magazine, LIX (3), Feb. 1, 1946, 10, 42-3). About Montreal's women's symphony, the first all-woman symphony in North America.

- SUTHERLAND, RUBY M. *Vancouver's Labour Arts Guild* (Food for thought, VI (9), May-June, 1946, 10-13). The Labour Arts Guild of Vancouver is a community effort on the part of workers and artists designed to foster a closer co-operation between organized labour and the visual arts.
- THOMAS, CLARA. *Canadian novelists: 1920-1945*. Toronto, London, New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1946. Pp. xii, 142. (\$2.00) A useful volume of biographical and bibliographical information about Canadian novelists since 1920.
- Two west coast artists. 1. *The drawings of B. C. Binning* by DORIS SHADBOLT. 2. *Jack Shadbolt* by CHARLES H. SCOTT (Canadian art, III (3), Apr.-May, 1946, 94-9).
- WATSON, ERNEST W. *From Toronto to Worm's End* (Canadian art, III (4), summer, 1946, 156-9, 181). A sketch of the career of Robert Taylor, Canadian born artist and cartoonist.
- WHITAKER, HERBERT. *Fridolin—our star* (Canadian review of music and art, V (1), Feb., 1946, 11-13). Gratien Gelinat of Montreal—otherwise known as Fridolin—has succeeded in the theatre without leaving Canada to do it.
- WOODHOUSE, A. S. P. *Letters in Canada: 1945* (University of Toronto quarterly, XV (3), Apr., 1946, 269-332; XV (4), July, 1946, 397-429). This is the *Quarterly's* tenth annual survey of Canadian literature; it completes the task undertaken in 1936—the year by year survey of Canadian writing for a decade.

XII. ETHNOLOGY, ANTHROPOLOGY, AND ARCHAEOLOGY

(Contributed annually since 1925 by Professor T. F. McIlwraith.)

- Anonymous. *How Wetaskiwin received its name* (Alberta folklore, II (1), Mar., 1946, 13-14). Wetaskiwin is said to mean "peace" on account of a peace ceremony between the Cree and the Blackfoot that took place at the locality in question.
- ARMATTOE, R. E. G. *Space, time and race or The age of man in America*. Londonderry: Lomeshie Research Centre for Anthropology and Race Biology. 1946. Pp. 12.
- BABCOCK, WILLOUGHBY M. *William Whipple Warren and his Chippewa writings* (Minnesota archaeologist, XII (3), July, 1946, 40-3). Notes on the life of W. W. Warren, author of *History of the Ojibways*, and of the factors that led to its writing.
- BARBEAU, MARIUS. *The art of French Canada* (in *The arts of French Canada 1613-1870*, Detroit Institute of Arts, 1946, 13-19). A scholarly summary of the history of the arts in French Canada; of particular interest is the author's description of the seventeenth-century work in birch-bark with dyed quill and hair decoration.
- Bear mother* (Journal of American folklore, LIX (231), Jan.-Mar., 1946, 1-12). One of the most wide-spread myths in America and Asia is that of the bear-mother which describes, in various forms, the union of a woman with a bear. The author cites versions of this myth on the north-west coast, with illustrations showing how the woman and her cubs have been depicted in different art forms.
- Canadian folklore [sic]* (French folklore bulletin, IV (21), Nov., 1945, 21-8). A first instalment of a summarized statement regarding the scope and amount of French-Canadian folk songs and tales.
- BARRET, P. *Bibliographie américaniste* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes, XXXI, 1939, 263-381). The 1939 instalment of this annual bibliography, probably the most comprehensive on man in the New World, reached Canada during 1946. It is arranged on a subject and regional basis, and contains references to many European articles not easily available in America.

- BARRET, P. *Bibliographie américaniste* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes, XXXII, 1940, 301-403). The 1940 instalment of this annual bibliography, just received in this country, is a tribute to French scholarship under the terrible conditions of war.
- BARTON, R. *Quelques nouvelles recherches sur le folklore américain* [in Russian] (Sovetskaja Etnografia, I, 1938, 224-9).
- BEATTY, WILLARD W. *The goal of Indian assimilation* (C.J.E.P.S., XII (3), Aug., 1946, 395-404). A description of problems of assimilation in the United States, of relevance on account of comparable conditions in Canada.
- BEAUGRAND-CHAMPAGNE, ARISTIDE. *La stratégie, la tactique et l'armement des anciens Iroquois* (Les cahiers des dix, no. 10, Montreal, 1945, 21-40). A descriptive essay on the strategy and tactics of Iroquois warfare, based largely on the records of early explorers.
- BIRKET-SMITH, KAJ. *The origin of maize cultivation*. (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-Filologiske Meddelelser, XXIX (3).) Copenhagen. 1943. Pp. 59.
- BLOOMFIELD, LEONARD. *Algonquian* (in *Linguistic structures of native America*, by HARRY HOIJER and others, Viking Fund publications in anthropology, VI, New York, 1946, 85-129). A critical and analytical study of the wide-spread Algonkian languages.
- BRONSON, RUTH MUSKRAT. *Indians are people, too*. New York: Friendship Press. 1944. Pp. viii, 184. An important and thought-provoking volume on the problems of the Indian in North America today. The author, herself an Indian, discusses the grim background of contact between white and Indian, showing how the displacement of whole tribes and the reservation system destroyed not only the economic life of a people, but profoundly affected their morale. From this basis, the Indians have succeeded in making truly remarkable adjustments, but they still suffer from a lack of understanding, and share with others the role of a depressed minority group. Written with knowledge and imagination, but without bitterness, this is a volume which deserves a wide distribution.
- BROPHY, WILLIAM A. *Story of the Indian service* (Boletín indigenista, VI (4), Dec., 1946, 301-26). A logical description of the history, function, internal organization, and aims of the United States Office of Indian Affairs, of value to Canadians interested in problems of Indian administration.
- BURGESS, J.-ALLAN. *Les indiens du Saguenay* (Société historique du Saguenay, bulletin no. 2, Nov., 1946, 2-11). An authoritative summary of the history of the Indians of the Saguenay regions, with a good description of the habits and life of the Montagnais of that area.
- Canada, House of Commons, Special Committee on Reconstruction and Re-establishment. *Minutes of proceedings and evidence, nos. 8 and 9*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1944. Pp. 237-66; 267-328. Evidence presented by officials of the Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Mines and Resources, before the Special Parliamentary Committee on Reconstruction and Re-establishment, brings out many of the problems faced at the present time by the Indians of Canada, together with steps taken to improve their condition, especially in regard to muskrat and beaver conservation measures. The statements provide important source material on contemporary Indian questions.
- CARTER, GEORGE F. *Origins of American Indian agriculture* (American anthropologist, XLVIII (1), Jan.-Mar., 1946, 1-21). A thorough botanical study of the place of origin of the principal Indian crops, corn, beans, and squash.
- CLAY, CHARLES. *The Cree legend of creation* (Alberta folklore, II (2), June, 1946, 69-71). A popular rendition of several Cree myths.

- COLLINS, HENRY B., JR. *A program of desirable scientific investigations in Arctic North America*. VII. *Anthropology* (Arctic Institute of North America, bulletin no. 1, Mar., 1946, 48-57). This summary, with an excellent bibliography, brings out the serious gaps in existing knowledge of Eskimo history and archaeology, arranged on a regional basis.
- CORRIGAN, CAMERON. *Medical practice among the Bush Indians of northern Manitoba* (Canadian Medical Association journal, LIV (3), Mar., 1946, 220-3). A description, in letter form, of the work of a doctor among the Cree Indians of northern Manitoba.
- DESROSIERES, LÉO-PAUL. *Dollard des Ormeaux dans les textes* (Les cahiers des dix, no. 10, Montreal, 1945, 41-85). This scholarly re-examination of Dollard's fight at the Long Sault rapids in 1660, based on a careful study of contemporary documents, throws considerable light on the alignment and activities of Indian tribes of that period.
- DUTILLY, ARTHÈME. *Bibliography of bibliographies on the Arctic*. (Catholic University of America, publication no. 1B.) Washington: Catholic University of America. [1946.] Pp. 50, plates and cross-reference appendices.
- EISELEY, LOREN C. *The fire-drive and the extinction of the terminal Pleistocene fauna* (American anthropologist, XLVIII (1), Jan.-Mar., 1946, 54-9). The author points out various difficulties in the thesis that man was largely responsible for the extinction of several species of large Pleistocene mammals through the practice of hunting with fire.
- ELLIS, HENRY. *On Hudson's Bay in 1746* (The beaver, outfit 276, Mar., 1946, 40-3). *Eskimos of 1746* (The beaver, outfit 277, June, 1946, 30-3). Extracts from Ellis's *A Voyage to Hudson's Bay*, printed in 1748, contain interesting observations on the life of the northern Cree and of the Eskimo, as noted two hundred years ago.
- EWERS, JOHN C. *Identification and history of the Small Robes Band of the Piegan Indians* (Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences, XXXVI (12), Dec., 1946, 397-401). In the early nineteenth century the Small Robes were probably the largest band of the Piegan, and were sufficiently important to be considered one of the major divisions of the Blackfoot. They maintained relative independence of action and were on friendly terms with the Flatheads. Decimated in battle with the Crow in 1845, they have declined in numbers to the verge of disappearance.
- FENTON, WILLIAM N. *An Iroquois condolence council for installing Cayuga chiefs in 1945* (Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences, XXXVI (4), Apr., 1946, 110-27). A vivid description of an Iroquois ritual of lamentation for a dead chief and the installation of his successor, as observed on the Grand River Reservation, Ontario, in 1945.
- FOREMAN, GRANT. *The last trek of the Indians*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1946. Pp. 382. (\$4.00) During the first half of the nineteenth century, the descendants of most of the Indian tribes of the eastern United States were forced to migrate west of the Mississippi, a "last trek" to lands supposedly set apart for their use forever. Bribery, coercion, trickery, all were used to persuade the Indians to sell or cede their lands and set out into the unknown. The record of these drivings into exile, with almost unbelievable hardships, accentuated by the brutality and rapacity of white boot-leggers and profiteers, is a grim picture of social attitudes in the last century. Within a few decades, western expansion had overtaken these displaced exiles, and again the cry was for segregation, this time to Indian Territory. To this area were also sent many of the tribes from the Plains. The author has sifted the records of these tragic migrations, recording the actual details of each tribal movement, and presenting a scholarly picture, unflattering to Indian and White alike, of the displacement of a conquered people.

- GEOGHEGAN, RICHARD HENRY. *The Aleut language*. Edited by FREDERICK A. I. MARTIN. Washington: United States Department of the Interior. 1944. Pp. 169. A comprehensive study of the Aleut language based on years of experience by a competent linguist.
- GEORGE, ERNEST S. *Crowfoot, Chief of the Blackfeet* (Alberta folklore, II (2), June, 1946, 66-8). Reminiscences of Crowfoot, the Blackfoot chief who was instrumental in preserving peace in 1885, as told to the author by his late father, a doctor who attended Crowfoot in his last illness.
- GILLE, J. *Der Manabozho Flutzyklus der Nord, Nordost und Zentralalgonkin. Ein Beitrag zur indianischen Mythologie*. (Göttingen philosophische dissertation.) Göttingen: C. Trute. 1939. Pp. 88. A comparative study of flood myths among the Algonkian tribes of north-east America.
- GOODWIN, GEORGE C. *Inopinatus-the unexpected* (Natural history, LV (9), Nov., 1946, 404-6). Indian traditions describe huge grizzly bears on the Barren Lands of the North West Territories, perhaps referring to *velularctos inopinatus*, a species of bear known by one specimen only.
- GRANT, RENA V. *The Konikillah - a Kwakiutl tale* (Journal of American folklore, LIX (232), Apr.-June, 1946, 194-6). A Kwakiutl tale from northern Vancouver Island, related in Chinook jargon in 1898.
- GUGGENHEIM, PAUL. *An anthropological campaign on Amchitka* (Scientific monthly, LXI (1), July, 1945, 21-32). American troops stationed on the island of Amchitka in the Aleutians had excellent opportunities for collecting specimens. The island must have had a rich pre-Aleut culture. Many of the artifacts illustrated are of considerable scientific importance and it is fortunate that they were preserved, even though the author could not restrain indiscriminate souvenir hunting and had few opportunities himself for scientific collecting.
- HADLOCK, WENDELL S. *The concept of tribal separation as rationalized in Indian folklore* (Pennsylvania archaeologist, XVI (3), July, 1946, 84-90). Myths purporting to explain the origin of war and of tribal separations among Indian tribes of Northern Canada show significant resemblances. It is probable that such legends are really philosophical explanations of existing tribal rivalries.
- HALLOWELL, A. IRVING. *Concordance of Ojibwa narratives in the published works of Henry R. Schoolcraft* (Journal of American folklore, LIX (232), Apr.-June, 1946, 136-53). Between 1825 and 1856, Henry R. Schoolcraft published a large number of books and articles on the Indians of the upper Great Lakes. In these were fifty-eight Ojibwa legends, printed and reprinted under different titles, and with many variants. The author has sought to bring order out of chaos by a scholarly listing of these tales, with references to the various publications and editions of the works of Schoolcraft and others in which they were printed.
- HARDISTY, RICHARD G. *The last Sun Dance* (Alberta folklore, II (2), June, 1946, 57-61). Recollections of an eye-witness at what is said to have been the last Sun Dance of the Cree, held years ago near Edmonton.
- H[ARRINGTON], M. R. *Tomahawks* (The masterkey, XX (1), Jan., 1946, 11-13). A note on tomahawks, with illustrations of several European types supplied to the Indians.
- HIBBEN, FRANK C. *The first Canadian* (Maclean's magazine, LIX (19), Oct. 1, 1946, 13, 69-71). Recent archaeological discoveries of Folsom culture indicate that the antiquity of man in Canada goes back 20,000 or 25,000 years.
- *The lost Americans*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1946. Pp. xi, 196. A popular, but authoritative description of the significant discoveries of early man in North America. Excavations and surface finds over a wide area from New Mexico to Alaska have proved the existence of

man in the New World in Pleistocene times; his tools and remains found in caves and camp-sites throw considerable light on his culture, but no skeletal remains have been discovered as yet.

- H[odge], F. W. *A Tlingit rattle* (The masterkey, XX (2), Mar., 1946, 61-2). A brief note, with illustrations, of an unusual wooden rattle from southern Alaska.
- HOEY, R. A. *Indian Affairs Branch* (in Canada, Department of Mines and Resources, *Report of the Department of Mines and Resources for the fiscal year ended March 31, 1945*, Ottawa, King's Printer, 1946, 160-92). This annual report on Indian affairs throughout Canada provides data on population, occupations, economic status, religion, and other aspects of the status and welfare of the Indians of today. Furthermore, it provides general information on employment trends, changes in occupation and other sociological facts. It is a worth-while account of government stewardship on behalf of the Indians.
- HOIJER, HARRY. *Introduction [to Linguistic structures of native America]* (in *Linguistic structures of native America*, by HARRY HOIJER and others, Viking Fund publications in anthropology, VI, New York, 1946, 9-29). A comprehensive summary of existing knowledge of the linguistic stocks of the two Americas.
- HOLTVED, ERIK. *Archaeological investigations in the Thule district* (Meddelelser om Grønland, CXLI (1-2), 1944). Archaeological work in north-west Greenland has proved several layers of occupation, of which that of the Dorset culture, first recognized around Hudson Strait, appears to be the oldest.
- HONIGMANN, JOHN J. *Ethnography and acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave*. (Yale University publications in anthropology, 33.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1946. Pp. 169. This is an important volume to the student of Athapaskan ethnology, a thorough and able study of the Slave Indians in the vicinity of Fort Nelson, B.C. Based on field-work and study of earlier writers, the author first gives a picture of aboriginal Slave culture, followed by a description of daily life as he observed it in 1943. Of particular importance is his acute analysis of the problems of integration and adaptation of the old life into that of today, a type of study badly needed in Canada.
- HRDLICKA, ALES. *The Aleutian and Commander Islands and their inhabitants*. Philadelphia: Wistar Institute of Anatomy and Biology. 1945. Pp. xx, 630. This comprehensive volume, embodying virtually all that is known regarding the natives of the Aleutian and Commander Islands, is a fitting summation of the work of the late Dr. Hrdlicka. After an introductory section on the geography and history of the area, the volume is divided into four parts: (a) ethnological data compiled from Russian and other early writers; (b) diary extracts describing the author's own field experiences; (c) descriptions of archaeological discoveries and the conclusions based on them; (d) detailed measurements and analyses of skeletal material. Evidence is given to support the author's thesis that the Aleuts, as known from the time of early European contact, are relative new-comers who replaced a still earlier Mongoloid strain. The volume is superbly illustrated and beautifully printed.
- *The anthropology of Kodiak Island*. Philadelphia: Wistar Institute of Anatomy and Biology. 1944. Pp. xix, 486. This is an important volume, the summing up of the results of several years work on Kodiak Island, Alaska; with its companion volume on the Aleutian Islands, it is the final contribution of a great physical anthropologist. Following an exhaustive survey of the literature, the author gives lengthy extracts from his diary followed by descriptions and comparisons of archaeological and skeletal material. As on the Aleutian Islands, he proves two layers of occupation, a Pre-Koniag population which was replaced, suddenly, several centuries ago, by the broad-headed Koniags who somewhat resemble the Aleut.
- JENNESS, DIAMOND. *A program of desirable scientific investigations in Arctic North America*. VIII. *Ethnology and archaeology* (Arctic Institute of North America, bulletin no. 1, Mar., 1946, 57-9). A summary of some of the most pressing needs for research among the Eskimo.

- JOHNSON, FREDERICK. *An archaeological survey along the Alaska Highway, 1944* (American antiquity, XI (3), Jan., 1946, 183-6). A preliminary report on artifacts discovered on the Alaska Highway, an area of Canada of which the archaeology is virtually unknown.
- JUEL, ERIC. *Notes on seal-hunting ceremonialism in the Arctics* (Ethnos, Stockholm, X (2-3), Apr.-Sept., 1945, 143-64). A comparative study of the rituals practised by the Eskimo; (a) preparatory to seal-hunting, (b) during the hunt, and (c) after returning from hunting.
- JURY, WILFRID. *Fairfield on the Thames*. (Bulletin of the Museums, no. 4.) London: University of Western Ontario. 1946. Pp. 18. A description of further excavations at Fairfield, a Moravian settlement on the Thames, burnt in 1812. Archaeological investigations of such historical sites throw light on pioneer life in Ontario, an important addition to the history of the province.
- *Southwold prehistoric earthworks* (C.H.R., XXVII (4), Dec., 1946, 391-3). A brief description of archaeological work at Southwold, in Elgin County, Ontario. This was a prehistoric Neutral site, fortified by a double tier of palisaded earthworks, a feature not known elsewhere north of Mexico. It is gratifying that a full report is being prepared on this site, which was excavated in 1936.
- KEITHAHN, EDWARD L. *Monuments in cedar*. Ketchikan, Alaska: Roy Anderson. 1945. Pp. 160, map. A comprehensive and readable compendium on the totem-poles of the Indians of the north-west coast. The author discusses their history (confirming the generally accepted thesis that they are post-European), the methods of manufacture and erection, the types of pole, the art symbolism involved, some of the legends depicted, and—to a lesser extent—their place in native life. The subject of totem-poles is of general interest and this book serves a useful purpose in bringing together a mass of scattered information on the subject.
- KIDD, GEORGE E. *The skull of a Copper Eskimo* (Man, XLVI, Jan.-Feb., 1946, 1-2). A description, with measurements, of a Copper Eskimo skull.
- *Trepanation among the early Indians of British Columbia* (Canadian Medical Association journal, LV (5), Nov., 1946, 513-16). A description of three trepanned skulls from pre-Columbian sites in southern British Columbia; with notes on arthritis and cranial deformation among the coastal Indians.
- KIDD, KENNETH. *The wanderings of Kane* (The beaver, outfit 277, Dec., 1946, 3-9). A scholarly description of Paul Kane's travels and work; it was one hundred years ago that this great artist left Toronto for his western expedition.
- KRAPPE, ALEXANDER H. *A Solomon legend among the Indians of the north Pacific* (Journal of American folklore, LIX (233), July-Sept., 1946, 309-14). A peculiar myth recorded among the Indians of Washington, Oregon, and British Columbia has so many resemblances to a widespread Old World tradition, that it appears undoubtedly to be of European origin.
- LANTIS, MARGARET. *The social culture of the Nunivak Eskimo* (American Philosophical Society, transactions, XXXV (3), Mar., 1946, 153-323). This important monograph comprises the first instalment of a thorough anthropological study of the Eskimo of Nunivak Island, Alaska. The aspects of life treated in this publication include social structure, religion, economics, and mythology. Eskimo culture, like that of all other aboriginal peoples in America, is changing rapidly; comprehensive studies such as this are urgently needed, perhaps even more in the Canadian Arctic than in Alaska. The author's investigations throw considerable light on beliefs and practices held by the Eskimo of Canada.
- LEARMONTH, L. A. *Adventure in the night* (The beaver, outfit 276, Mar., 1946, 36-7). A vivid description of an unusual accident, the flooding and collapse of an igloo erected on sea-ice, by an unusually high tide which burst through the apparently solid ice.

- LEARMONTH, L. A. *The curse of Neovitchek* (The beaver, outfit 277, Sept., 1946, 3-5). A description of King William Island Eskimo beliefs concerning the effects of interfering with a suicide's grave.
- LEECHMAN, DOUGLAS. *Balaam and the old times* (Queen's quarterly, LIII (4), 1946, 447-58). A description of conversations with a Loucheux Indian, illustrating the philosophy of an elderly Indian of the Yukon, as well as describing items of his tribal ethnology.
- Eskimo summer*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1945. Pp. x, 247. A delightfully written account of archaeological work on the Button Islands, off the northern tip of the Labrador peninsula. Written in popular style, the author describes the problems of transportation and excavation in the Far North, but the greatest attraction of the book is the description of the Eskimo family who were his companions and friends. It is a very pleasing, non-technical volume by a competent anthropologist.
- The National Museum of Canada* (Canadian geographical journal, XXXII (1), Jan., 1946, 2-13). A semi-popular description of the National Museum, with a number of interesting ethnological photographs.
- Prehistoric migration routes through the Yukon* (C.H.R., XXVII (4), Dec., 1946, 383-90). A description of archaeological material excavated on the Alaska Highway, between Whitehorse and the Alaska boundary. It resembles Neolithic specimens from Siberia and may throw light on one of the routes of early migration in North America.
- LI FANG-KUEL. *Chipewyan* (in *Linguistic structures of native America*, by HARRY HOIJER and others, Viking Fund publications in anthropology, VI, New York, 1946, 398-423). An analysis of the morphology and grammar of the Chipewyan language of Athapaskan stock, as spoken in northern Alberta.
- LINGARD, C. C. *Arctic Survey*. VII (C.J.E.P.S., XII (1), Feb., 1946, 45-74). An outline of government policy in the North West Territories and the Yukon from 1870, with a summary of developments in these areas during the last war.
- LIPS, JULIUS E. *Naskapi trade: A study in legal acculturation* (Journal de la Société des Americanistes, XXXI, 1939, 129-95). An important paper on the economic aspects of interaction between the white man and the Naskapi Indians of Labrador. It is based partly on field work and direct observation, but the principal section consists of extracts from the diaries of post managers of the Hudson's Bay Company, preserved in the Company's archives in London. These contain items about specific Indians, the localities from which they have come to the post, the supplies provided, the furs received, Indian attitude to debt, and other matters of economic history. The extracts deal particularly with the period from 1820 to 1840. This use of Hudson's Bay Company records is a new and promising field of historical anthropological research.
- LOPATIN, IVAN A. *Social life and religion of the Indians in Kitimat, British Columbia*. (University of Southern California, Social Science Series, 26.) Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press. 1945. Pp. 118. The Kitimat Indians of Douglas Channel, B.C., are a northern branch of the Kwakiutl, and one of the least known tribes of the North-West Coast. A study of their social and religious life has long been needed, but this study was made too late for the details to be ascertained. From a few of the older people the author has succeeded in collecting the principal facts of their social structure, based on matrilineal totemic clans, and profoundly influenced by the potlatch system, and of their religion, but the native culture has changed so completely that it could not be viewed as a living organism. This volume is important in adding to a knowledge of the distribution of social and political institutions in British Columbia, but it also gives another illustration of the way in which the rich life of the coastal Indians has disappeared without being fully recorded.
- LOVELESS, EDNA. *Geographic names* (Canadian surveyor, VIII (12), Apr., 1946, 21-3). A brief note on the meaning of some place names of Indian origin.

- MCCRACKEN, HAROLD. *The sacred white buffalo* (Natural history, LV (7), Sept., 1946, 304-9, 341). The skins of albino buffaloes, always extremely rare, were highly valued by the Plains Indians.
- MACINNES, T. R. L. *History of Indian administration in Canada* (C.J.E.P.S., XII (3), Aug., 1946, 387-94). An important article dealing with the Indian Act and the administration, education, health, restrictions, and enfranchisement of the Indian today.
- MCILWRAITH, T. F. *Archaeological work in Huronia, 1946: Excavations near Warminster* (C.H.R., XXVII (4), Dec., 1946, 394-401). A preliminary report on the excavation of a large Huron village site in Simcoe County, Ontario, probably that of Cahiagué, where Champlain made his headquarters in 1615.
- MANNING, T. H. *Ruins of Eskimo stone houses on the east side of Hudson Bay* (American antiquity, XI (3), Jan., 1946, 201-2). A record of the occurrence of stone house ruins similar to those of the Thule Eskimo culture on King George, Sleeper, and Marcopeet Islands.
- MARSH, D. B. *Padlemtut drum dance* (The beaver, outfit 276, Mar., 1946, 20-1). A description of the manufacture and use of drums among the Padlemtut of Hudson Bay.
- MASON, BERNARD S. *The book of Indian crafts and costumes*. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company. [1946.] Pp. 110, many illustrations. A well-written volume, explaining how to make many types of Indian manufactures. It will be of value to scouts, campers, and hand craftsmen, as well as to museum curators who are often puzzled to recommend non-technical publications on this type of subject.
- MASON, J. ALDEN. *Notes on the Indians of the Great Slave Lake area*. (Yale University publications in anthropology, 34.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1946. Pp. 46. This paper comprises information collected in the summer of 1913 for the Victoria Memorial Museum, now the National Museum of Canada. Since the expedition was planned only as a preliminary survey, and much of the author's time was spent on linguistic work, he had no opportunity of conducting thorough investigations, but his material is important in adding to our knowledge of the Slave, Dog-rib, and Yellowknife Indians.
- MATHIASSEN, THERKEL. *The archaeology of the Thule district* (in *Archaeological investigations in the Thule district*, I-II, by ERIK HOLTVED, Meddelelser om Grønland, CXLI (1-2), Copenhagen, 1944, 43-57).
- MIDDLETON, S. H. *Picture writing by the Blackfeet Indians* (Canadian art, III (3), Apr.-May, 1946, 113). This note on the arts of the Blackfeet has been condensed from a forthcoming book by John C. Ewers.
- MILLER, MAMIE TANQUIST. *An author, title, and subject check list of Smithsonian Institution publications relating to anthropology*. (University of New Mexico bulletin, whole number 405, bibliographical series, I (2).) Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. Jan., 1946. Pp. 218. Arranged under three headings, author, title, and subject, this is a useful aid in locating articles in the various series published by the Smithsonian Institution.
- MOORE, P. E., KRUSE, H. D., TISDALL, F. F., AND CORRIGAN, R.S.C. *Medical survey of nutrition among the northern Manitoba Indians* (Canadian Medical Association journal, LIV (3), Mar., 1946, 223-33). Studies of the food habits of 400 Indians at Norway House, Manitoba, reveal definite diet deficiencies. Not only is this a serious factor in mortality rates, but it probably contributes to what is generally regarded as their lethargy and indolence.
- The native voice*, I (1), Dec., 1946. Vancouver: Native Voice Publishing Co., 16 East Hastings St. (\$1.50 a year, 10 cents a copy.) *The Native Voice* is a monthly, eight-page newspaper, published in Vancouver as the "Official organ

of the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia, Inc." It is largely, though not exclusively, devoted to news of Indians and Indian affairs, particularly in British Columbia, with some articles of wider interest, especially in the fields of race relations and culture adjustment. This appears to be the first Indian newspaper in Canada. It marks a development of inter-tribal collaboration, and perhaps of socio-political consciousness, as well as of adjustment to a modern method of news transmission.

- NEUMANN, GEORG. *Migrations and the origin of the woodland culture* (Indiana Academy of Science, proceedings, LIV, 1945, 41-3). Archaeological material from the eastern woodlands of North America shows so many resemblances to specimens from the Lake Baikal region of Siberia that a genetic connection may be inferred, a thesis supported by a comparison of skeletal remains from the same areas.
- N[oon], J[ohn] A. *Houses and homes* (University Museums [Philadelphia], bulletin, XI (4), Apr., 1946, 2-15). A popular, illustrated account of native houses; the examples are chiefly from Canadian Indian tribes.
- OETTEKING, BRUNO. *Skeletal remains from Prince William Sound, Alaska* (American journal of physical anthropology, III (1), Mar., 1945, 57-96; III (2), June, 1945, 177-205; III (3), Sept., 1945, 277-311). A meticulous study of skeletal material from Alaska.
- PETTITT, GEORGE A. *Primitive education in North America* (University of California publications in American archaeology and ethnology, XLIII (1), 1946, iv, 1-182). An exhaustive, comparative study of methods of education among the North American Indians. Among the important stimuli are religious experiences, praise and reward as shown in first-fruit rites, and the use of illustrative incidents in myths; discipline is often entrusted to specific relatives other than the parents and corporal punishment is rare.
- PITSULAK. *Pictures by Pitsulak* (The beaver, outfit 277, Sept., 1946, 20-1). A series of beautiful photographs taken by a Cape Dorset Eskimo of hunting scenes in that area.
- POLLARD, LANCASTER. *A Pacific Northwest bibliography* (Pacific northwest quarterly, XXXVII (2), Apr., 1946, 143-54). This annual bibliography contains a section on archaeology and anthropology.
- POWERS, MABEL. *El primer ensayo de paz en América* (America indigena, VI (2), Abril, 1946, 105-25). A comprehensive summary of the origin, function, and vicissitudes of the League of the Iroquois.
- QUIMBY, GEORGE I., Jr. *Pottery from the Aleutian Islands* (Fieldiana—anthropology, XXXVI (1), Sept. 19, 1945, 1-13). Coarse, heavy pottery has recently been found in Aleut middens at Dutch Harbour, Amaknak Island. This is the first evidence of pottery among the Aleut; its style and technique suggest a local development.
- *The sadiron lamp of Kamchatka as a clue to the chronology of the Aleut* (American antiquity, XI (3), Jan., 1946, 202-3). This type of oval stone lamp occurs in the Aleutian Islands and southern Kamchatka. It appears to have spread from the former to the latter about the eleventh century.
- RANSOM, JAY ELLIS. *Aleut linguistic perspective* (Southwestern journal of anthropology, II (1), spring, 1946, 48-55). A summary of the work that has been done on the Aleut language.
- *Aleut natural-food economy* (American anthropologist, XLVIII (4, part 1), Oct.-Dec., 1946, 607-23). A thorough study of the diet, food habits, and cooking practices of the Aleut of Umnak Island, Alaska in 1936-7, with comparative data on former food practices as recorded in the literature.

- RANSOM, JAY ELLIS. *Children's games among the Aleut* (Journal of American folklore, LIX (232), Apr.-June, 1946, 196-8). A description of Aleut games, both aboriginal and those introduced by the white man.
- Writing as a medium of acculturation among the Aleut (Southwestern journal of anthropology, I (3), autumn, 1945, 333-44). Among the Aleut, knowledge of writing is (or was) largely limited to men. Great pride is shown in composition; this interest in writing has become a significant factor in Aleut adjustment to modern society.
- RIOUX, MARCEL. *Les Hurons-Iroquois pratiquaient-ils le totémisme?* (Société Royale du Canada, mémoires, section I, XXXIX, Ottawa, 1945, 173-6). Both the Hurons and the Iroquois were divided into exogamous clans, each associated with a species of animal or bird. In this respect both tribes were totemic, but in the complete absence of respect for their clan "totem," their structure lacked one of the essentials of true totemism.
- ROBINSON, J. LEWIS. *Conquest of the Northwest Passage by R.C.M.P. schooner "St. Roch"* (Annual report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1945, Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1946, 219-34). A reprint of an article published in the *Canadian Geographical Journal*, Feb., 1945, and cited in this bibliography (C.H.R., Mar., 1946, p. 99).
- ROSENBLAT, ANGEL. *La población indígena de America desde 1492 hasta la actualidad*. Buenos Aires: Institución Cultural Española. 1945. Pp. 292. A careful study by a South American scholar of the size of Indian population in the two Americas at the time of European contact and subsequent changes. One striking observation is that in some sections the native population has decreased over 43 per cent.
- SAPPER, KARL. *Jagdwirtschaft, Tierhaltung und Tierzucht der Indianer in vorkolumbischer Zeit* (Mitteilungsblatt der deutschen Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde, IX, Hamburg, 1939, 41-56).
- SEBEOK, THOMAS A. *Index to volumes I to X* (International journal of American linguistics, XI (1), Jan., 1945, 1-12). A useful index to the articles in this important linguistic journal.
- SELIGMANN, KURT. *Le mât-totem de Gédéem Skanish (Gydaedem Skanees)* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes, XXXI, 1939, 121-8). A description of a totem-pole from the upper Skeena, British Columbia, set up just before the war at the Musée de l'Homme in Paris. The various designs are of creatures described in myths.
- SHAPIRO, HARRY L. *Homes around the world*. (American Museum of Natural History, science guide, no. 124.) New York: American Museum of Natural History. N.d. Pp. 30. A reprint of articles in *Natural History* previously cited in this annual bibliography. See, C.H.R., Mar., 1946, p. 99.
- SHERWIN, REIDER T. *The Viking and the red man*. Volume IV. Bronxville, New York: R. T. Sherwin. 1946. Pp. iv, 220. The author publishes a lengthy series of words, including place-names, from various Algonkian languages, with cognate Old Norse terms. His conclusion is that the Algonkian languages are of Old Norse origin.
- SMITH, G. HUBERT. *The form and function of the Midewiwin* (Minnesota archaeologist, XII (3), April, 1946, 22-37). A semi-popular description of the Midewiwin, an important socio-religious society of the Algonkians of the Upper Great Lakes, compiled and analysed from the writings of various authors.
- SMITH, MARIAN W. *Petroglyph complexes in the history of the Columbia-Fraser region* (Southwestern journal of anthropology, II (3) autumn, 1946, 306-22). Petroglyphs in northern Washington and southern British Columbia can be divided into several types, probably connected with cultural influences from different directions.

- SPECK, FRANK G. *Bird nomenclature and song interpretation of the Canadian Delaware: An essay in ethno-ornithology* (Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences, XXXVI (8), Aug., 1946, 249-58). A study of the extent of bird knowledge and of thought in regard to the natural history of birds as shown in the names applied to birds, and the interpretations of their songs, by the so-called Delaware of the Grand River Reservation, Ontario. The Delaware, better described as Munsee-Mahican, are the mixed descendants of Algonkian-speaking groups resident in southern New England at the time of contact. Some of the bird names are descriptive, others are onomatopoeic.
- and HADLOCK, WENDELL S. *A report on tribal boundaries and hunting areas of the Malecite Indian of New Brunswick* (American anthropologist, XLVIII (3), July-Sept., 1946, 355-74). In addition to giving the family hunting areas of the Malecite as recorded in 1917-20 (supplemented by the junior author in 1945-6), much information is given on tribal boundaries, on the extent of corn growing among the Malecite, and on the economic change forced upon them by the virtual extermination of moose and caribou in the last century.
- in collaboration with MOSES, JESSE. *The celestial bear comes down to earth: The bear sacrifice ceremony of the Munsee-Mahican in Canada as related by Nekatcit*. (Reading Public Museum and Art Gallery, Scientific publications, no. 7.) Reading, Pa. 1945. Pp. xiv, 91. Among the Algonkian-speaking tribes of eastern Canada and the United States there were wide-spread myths of a sky bear (*Ursa major*) and its earthly counterparts, myths having various implications in regard to the relation of man and the supernatural and of existence on earth and in the sky. The Mahican of the Hudson River dramatized these beliefs into a complex and abstract ceremony. This ritual has not been carried out for years, indeed the Mahican, as a tribe, are extinct, but by brilliant field work, Speck has been able to piece together the main features, as well as much of the detail. His collaborators were Indians of the Grand River near Brantford, of mixed Mahican, Munsee, Delaware, and Iroquois stock. One section of the book is devoted to a study of the Munsee-Mahican and their history.
- STEARNE, E. WAGNER and STEARN, ALLEN E. *The effect of smallpox on the destiny of the Amerindian*. Boston: Bruce Humphries. 1945. Pp. 153.
- STEWART, BOB. *Primitive man* (The beaver, outfit 277, Sept., 1946, 32-7). A series of superb photograph portraits of Eskimo from Pelly Bay and its vicinity.
- STEWART, KENNETH M. *Spirit possession in native America* (Southwestern journal of anthropology, II (3), autumn, 1946, 323-39). The concept of spirit possession occurs widely and in various forms in America; it is most common among the Eskimo, on the North-West Coast, and in the Plateau area—conceivably connected with Siberian shamanism.
- STIRLING, M. W. *Concepts of the sun among American Indians* (Annual report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1945, Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1946, 387-400). A scholarly comparative study, including data from many Canadian tribes.
- SWADESH, MORRIS. *South Greenlandic (Eskimo)* (in *Linguistic structures of native America*, by HARRY HOIJER and others, Viking Fund publications in anthropology, VI, New York, 1946, 30-54). A critical and analytical study of the language of the Eskimo of south Greenland.
- TANNER, V. *Outlines of the geography, life and customs of Newfoundland-Labrador: The eastern part of the Labrador Peninsula*. 2 vols. (Acta Geographica, VIII (1). Helsingfors. 1944. Pp. 436; 470. The first volume of this comprehensive work deals with the geography, geology, and natural history of the whole Labrador Peninsula. The second volume is a study of the human population, Eskimo, Montagnais-Naskapi, and white settlers. The author's viewpoint is that of a human geographer; he describes how the people live, what they do, and the influences of group upon group. It is a descriptive, not a philosophical study.

- TRAVIS, RALPH. *Reminiscences of Fort Rupert* (The beaver, outfit 277, Dec., 1946, 32-4). Illustrations and reminiscences of life among the Kwakiutl Indians of northern Vancouver Island.
- TURQUETIL, MGR. *La moralité de l'Esquimau* (Bulletin des Missions, XVIII, Saint-André-lez-Bruges, 1939, 278-85).
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- *Le véritable Esquimau* (Bulletin des Missions, XVIII, Saint-André-lez-Bruges, 1939, 205-10).
- VICKERS, CHRIS. *Aboriginal backgrounds in southern Manitoba* (Papers read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, season 1945-46, Winnipeg, 1946, 3-8). A valuable summary of Indian tribal movements in Manitoba during the historical and semi-historical period, based both on the use of literary sources and of archaeological data.
- VOEGELIN, C. F. *Influence of area in American Indian linguistics* (Word, I, 1945, 54-8). A discussion of the manner in which linguistic area has influenced the study of five linguistic stocks, of which three are predominantly Canadian.
- WALKER, EDWIN F. *America's Indian background: An introduction to the subject of Indians in the United States area*. (Southwest Museum leaflets, XVIII.) Los Angeles: Southwest Museum. 1945. Pp. 19. A reprint in pamphlet form of articles in the *Masterkey*, cited in this bibliography, Mar., 1946, p. 101.
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- *An Eskimo harpoon-thrower* (The *masterkey*, XX (6), Nov., 1946, 193-4). A note, with illustrations, of an Eskimo spear-thrower from Kodiak Island.
- WALLACE, PAUL A. W. *The white roots of peace*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1946. Pp. xii, 57. A scholarly and timely description of the origin and work of the League of the Iroquois, that extraordinary confederacy based upon the concepts of law, order, and universal brotherhood which established peace among the Indian tribes of New York and Pennsylvania, which survived for two centuries the impact of European settlement, and which held the balance of power in eastern North America for about the same period.
- W[ardle], H. N[ewell]. *Attu treasure* (University Museum [Philadelphia] bulletin, XI (4), Apr., 1946, 23-6). A brief description of the beautiful baskets formerly made on Attu, in the Aleutian Islands.
- WARREN, W. W. *A brief history of the Ojibwas* (Minnesota archaeologist, XII (3), July, 1946 45-91).
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- *Sioux and Chippewa wars* (Minnesota archaeologist, XII (4), Oct., 1946, 95-107). Warren, a quarter-blood Ojibwa, was born in 1825 and died in 1853. He is best known for his writings in the *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*. These two articles are reprints of newspaper articles, the first from the *Minnesota Democrat*, seven issues in 1851; the second from the *Minnesota Chronicle and Register*, two issues in 1850.
- WEATHERBY, HUGH. *Tales the totems tell*. Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada. 1944. Pp. x, 96. (\$1.75) A collection of British Columbia Indian legends, recorded in extremely popular style.
- WIESCHHOFF, H. A. *Primitive money* (University Museum [Philadelphia] bulletin, XI (3), Dec., 1945, 5-40). A popular description of types of "money" used in different parts of the world, including aboriginal Canada.
- WILFORD, LLOYD A. *The prehistoric Indians of Minnesota* (Minnesota history, XXVI (4), Dec., 1945, 312-29). This is the second in a series of articles on the cultures of Minnesota's prehistoric peoples.
- WINTERBERG, W. J. *The Sidey-Mackay village site* (American antiquity, XI (3), Jan., 1946, 154-82). This is an important contribution to Ontario archaeology, a report on the detailed excavation of a Tobacco Nation site in north-western Simcoe County, Ontario, in 1926 by the late W. J. Winterberg. The material

recovered is described in detail, with particularly careful analysis of pottery designs. The culture of this site has greater resemblances to those in Victoria County than to Neutral and western Iroquois cultures. Its age is, apparently, just prior to European contact.

WISSLER, CLARK. *Man and his baggage* (Natural history, LV (7), Sept., 1946, 324-30). A popular description of the equipment carried by various groups of wandering people, including the Plains Indians.

Rice as a world food. (American Museum of Natural History, science guide, no. 121.) New York: American Museum of Natural History. N.d. Pp. 13. A reprint of the article cited below.

Rice as a world food (Natural history, LV (1), Jan., 1946, 8-19). An authoritative description of the cultivation of rice in different parts of the world, beautifully illustrated and written in popular style. One section is devoted to the collection of wild rice by the Algonkian-speaking Indians of Minnesota and Ontario.

WITTHOFT, JOHN, and HADLOCK, WENDELL S. *Cherokee-Iroquois Little People* (Journal of American folklore, LIX (234), Oct.-Dec., 1946, 413-22). A few beliefs concerning dwarfs are still held by the Iroquois of the Grand River Reservation, Ontario, probably a survival of a wide-spread tradition among the eastern Indians.

WOODWARD, ARTHUR. *Catlinite east of the Mississippi* (The masterkey, XX (4), July, 1946, 141-2). Pipes and beads of catlinite, a stone quarried only in Minnesota, were traded as far east as Montreal in the early days of European contact, probably following prehistoric trade routes.

The metal tomahawk—its evolution and distribution in North America (Fort Ticonderoga Museum bulletin, VII (3), Jan., 1946, 2-42). A well documented and important study of the varieties of metal axe traded to the Indians by the early traders, with notes on the distinguishing marks of the makers, on the number of such implements, and of their use in war and peace. One section deals with pipe-tomahawks, a special development devised by some ingenious trader. Although the tomahawk is usually supposed to have been derived from the woodsman's axe, another line of ancestry leads to the European battle-axe.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

CORRESPONDENCE

THE CASE OF BIDWELL

Professor C. B. Sissons's article on "The Case of Bidwell" in the *CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, December, 1946, 368-82, may be supplemented by a brief note of a conversation with Bidwell in the papers of Chancellor James Kent of New York State, January 18, 1838. These papers are now in the possession of Mrs. Louis Gillett of Beacon-on-Hudson, a great-granddaughter of the chancellor, and were consulted by Professor John T. Horton of the University of Buffalo for his life of Kent (New York, 1939). It is to his kindness and interest that I owe the following reference to Bidwell, taken from the manuscript entitled "Memorandum of Daily Expenses, May, 1836 to May, 1839."

"January 18, 1838. Saw & conversed with Marshall Bidwell, Esq., of Toronto. He speaks strongly of the oppressions in Upper Canada & of the tyranny of Sir F. Head and justifies the right though not the expediency for present of the Rebellion."

The tone of Bidwell's remarks in this private conversation is at considerable variance with that of his other utterances as quoted by Professor Sissons. Bidwell's statement to Kent does not prove that he took a share in the particular revolt of December, 1837, and in fact indicates that he did not, as he asserted for the benefit of officials. Yet it shows much sympathy for an appeal to force in itself; and it is strikingly like Governor Arthur's opinion, quoted by Professor Sissons, page 371. So far as the report goes, Bidwell said nothing to Kent of the injury inflicted on himself, an innocent man, by the allegation of a share in the rebellion; he was in favour of such a movement, though not at that moment.

This brings us to the question of Bidwell's unopened letters in the possession of Head, at the interview which led to the former's departure from Upper Canada. There is a great difference in the accounts of the conversation by the participants (W. Kingsford, *History of Canada*, X, 421-3). But Head's version at least makes the sequel intelligible. If Bidwell had had as little to do with the rebellion as Robert Baldwin, for instance, he would have spurned Head's suggestion to leave the country and have stood on his right as a person with a clear record to remain where he was. But if the letters compromised him about the principle of rebellion, he might well have taken the easiest way out and acted as in fact he did, i.e. promise to go speedily.

The letters being unopened, Head could not have known their contents directly; but no doubt he had other information on Bidwell and could guess a good deal from the addresses. We are still left to conjecture for much about Bidwell and the rebellion; but we may suppose from this little note by Kent, that Head's suspicions were not entirely the product of imagination.

W. B. KERR

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Professor Kerr's contribution, which you were good enough to send me for comment, is interesting. Its value, of course, depends upon the capacity of James Kent for clear understanding and accurate reproduction of a conversation. The

statement that Bidwell justified "the right though not the expediency for present of the Rebellion," which summarizes Kent's interpretation of Bidwell's attitude six weeks after the event, suggests to Professor Kerr that Bidwell favoured the policy but not the time. It may have been, however, that he simply dwelt upon the wrongs against which he and his fellow reformers had so long protested, while at the same time criticizing the impatience of Mackenzie. Both he and the intelligent American with whom he was conversing would be likely to reflect that a revolt against arbitrary authority, if it fails, is called rebellion, whereas, if it succeeds, it passes into history as a just and glorious revolution. Had Bidwell been aware of the fact at the time, he might well have pointed out that Head himself was virtually in revolt; he was refusing to carry out instructions from the Colonial Office as to Bidwell's appointment as a judge and Ridout's restoration to an office of which he had been unjustly deprived. He too was on his way out, and for the definite flouting and abuse of authority. The question at issue in Bidwell's case is simply this: was his attitude consistently constitutional, or was he willing to foment and accept violence as the method of solution? Kent's entry in his diary must now be added to the O'Callaghan letter as evidence on this point.

As to the "packet of letters" which, the *Toronto Patriot* reported, Head magnanimously delivered to Bidwell unopened, "A United Empire Loyalist" (Ryerson) had this to say in the *Upper Canada Herald*: "There was, if I am rightly informed, but two letters,—the one from Mrs. Bidwell—the other from a Mr. Johns, formerly of Kingston, but latterly of New Orleans. Mr. Bidwell told Sir Francis he was welcome to read them; and Sir Francis then declined." This, to be sure, is at variance with Head's flamboyant account of the incident in his *Emigrant*.

Another question is raised by Professor Kerr, as to whether Bidwell's declining to stand his ground may be taken as indicating that he had not "a clear record." Hardly, I think, in the circumstances. Bidwell was not a man of martial valour; and happily it has never been considered a proof of depravity for a Canadian to cross the border under pressure, either political or economic.

C. B. Sissons

Victoria College, Toronto.

THE INSTITUTE OF EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE AND THE WILLIAM AND MARY QUARTERLY

In 1943 the Institute of Early American History and Culture was founded at Williamsburg, Virginia as an independent unit dedicated to the furtherance of study, research, and publication in early American history to the year 1815. The Institute was a fusion of historical activities previously undertaken by the College of William and Mary and Colonial Williamsburg, Inc. The latter was the organization which restored colonial Williamsburg.

The war delayed full implementation of the purposes for which the Institute was created until October, 1945, since when it has begun to build up a permanent staff and to make plans for the future. Publications include monographs and documentary collections continuing the Williamsburg Restoration Historical Studies. The *William and Mary College Quarterly* has also been taken over by

the Institute and reconstituted as the *William and Mary Quarterly* with a wider scope more befitting the aims of the Institute.

The Institute also plans schemes to train post-doctoral scholars and to aid the work of research by grants. It defines its scope as the civilization of the American colonies and the early republic, including as well the related history of the British Isles, the European continent, and the Caribbean in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The term "Early American History" was specifically chosen in order to include comparative studies of French, Spanish, and English colonies and colonial policy and to cover the relations between Canada and the United States up to the end of the War of 1812.

The principal officers of the Institute are: Dr. Carl Bridenbaugh, director; Dr. Lester J. Cappon, research editor; Dr. Douglass Adair, managing editor, *William and Mary Quarterly*, Goodwin Building, Williamsburg, Virginia.

The American Association for State and Local History at its meetings in Washington in October, decided to recognize meritorious contributions to the promotion of interest in regional history in Canada and the United States. At first the intention was to recognize local historical societies, whether municipal, or wider in scope. However when the committee met, it was felt that other agencies might be recognized. As a result, the Association this year chose the *London Free Press* for an award. The action resulted from practically continuous publication, every Saturday for thirty years, by the *London Free Press*, of what is called the "Western Ontario Feature Page." It might be added that this feature page is given over to articles dealing with the local history of Western Ontario, written by many persons interested in the region. The paper pays contributors for their work, which almost certainly makes this history feature page unique in Canada. The American Association for State and Local History intends to continue the practice of recognizing noteworthy contributions to local history. Therefore, any suggestions along this line would be welcomed by J. J. Talman, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, the Canadian representative of the committee.

ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE MEMORIAL FELLOWSHIP

This fellowship of the American Historical Association has a cash value of \$1,000, and is awarded annually for the best manuscript in English on American history (United States, Latin America, and Canada). Manuscripts which are accepted are published free of charge in the series of Beveridge Fund publications. For full details and application forms, address Arthur P. Whitaker, chairman, Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund of the American Historical Association, 208 College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pa. The deadline for submission of applications and manuscripts in the second annual competition is July 1, 1947.

The first annual award of this Fellowship (1946) was made to Arthur Eugene Bestor, Jr., Associate Professor of History, Stanford University, for his manuscript in progress, "Backwoods Utopias," to be completed in 1947.

The third summer training course in the preservation and administration of archives for custodians of public, institutional, and business archives will be offered by the American University in Washington, D.C., with the co-operation of

the National Archives of the United States and the Maryland Hall of Records from July 28 through August 23, 1947. The programme will provide lectures on the most important phases of work with archives and manuscripts, demonstrations, group conferences, and practical work in such fields as arrangement and description of archival and manuscript material, repair and preservation, cataloguing, and photo-duplication. Detailed information may be obtained by writing to Ernst Posner, School of Social Sciences and Public Affairs, the American University, 1901 F Street, N.W.

The General Society of Colonial Wars of the United States created in 1945 a modest foundation to provide financial aid to graduate students submitting manuscripts based mainly upon events of the American colonial period. The Society will be pleased to learn of manuscripts which may merit aid for publication. Communications may be addressed to the chairman of the Publication Committee, Edwin O. Lewis, 344 City Hall, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

BOOK-NOTES FOR TEACHERS

The Foundations of Canadian Policy in World Affairs (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1947, pp. 45, 25c.) by the Right Honourable Louis St-Laurent. This lecture, the first on the Duncan and John Gray Foundation which has been established by Mr. George Gray of the Ontario High School Inspectors Staff in memory of his two sons, was delivered at the University of Toronto on January 13, 1947. In keeping with the purpose of the Foundation which is to make a contribution to Canadian unity, it has been printed in French and English and published at a nominal price in the hope that it will receive a wide distribution. The significance of Mr. St-Laurent's statement can only be appreciated if one reflects that for the entire period between the world wars there was no agreed basis of general principles for Canadian external policy. Indeed, Canadian public men went on the assumption that there had to be at least two voices in Canadian external policy—one for French, the other for English, Canadians. Mr. St-Laurent's assumption and analysis of a common basis is, therefore, an indication of something approaching a revolution in Canadian thinking during the past few years. Indeed, as we venture to think that few Canadians will see anything at all revolutionary in what Mr. St-Laurent said, it is proof of how great the change has been.

Charters of Our Freedom (Toronto, Ginn and Company, n.d., pp. vi, 138) which was prepared by Professor R. G. Trotter of Queen's University at the suggestion of the Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship, deserves wide circulation and should be an item of permanent value both in school and public libraries. Its design and purpose are simple. It sketches the growth of parliamentary government and constitutional liberties with special reference to Canada from the Great Charter of 1215 to the Atlantic Charter and the period in which we are now living. Among the documents quoted—some at considerable length—are Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, the Mayflower Compact, Lord Durham's Report, the British North America Act, and the Statute of Westminster. If the design and purpose were simple, however, the problem of execution was not and it is no small tribute to Professor Trotter to say that he has tackled it with great skill not only by his choice of material, and by careful editing, but particularly by the connecting

passages which he has written and which hold the whole book together and give it form and perspective. Magna Carta is frequently referred to in glowing terms by speakers and writers who, we suspect, have never read a word of it. We hope some of them at least will allow this book to contribute to their better understanding not only of the Great Charter but of the panorama of constitutional developments which forms so large a part of Canada's history and heritage. A word of appreciation should be said also for the care and imagination which have produced so attractive a volume. The problem of format was not an easy one. It also has been approached with skill.

Canadian Citizenship and Our Wider Loyalties (Winnipeg, Canada Press Club, 1946, pp. xvi, 157) by W. J. Lindal is published by the Canada Press Club of Winnipeg which is an association of the editors of the many newspapers representing various racial groups in Winnipeg. The chief value of the book is in its last fifty pages which contain a clear outline of the background and principal provisions of the Canadian Citizenship Act which came into force on January 1, 1947. The importance of the Act makes this section well worth a careful reading. The reciprocal advantages which come to Canadians by reason of Canada's membership in the British Commonwealth are, for example, concisely explained on pages 122-3. The first hundred pages are less satisfactory being a rather disorganized series of comments on Canada's history, geography, and present position in the world.

The French-Canadian Outlook (Toronto, G. A. Klinck, 194 Dawlish Ave., 1946, pp. 16, 25c.) by Professor Richard M. Saunders has already been widely read. We trust it will remain in print and will reach a continually increasing audience. Frankly "designed as a contribution to better understanding between English and French Canadians," it touches upon every major difficulty between the two groups and suggests a realistic approach to the problem of co-operation. At every turn it reveals a broad and intimate background of information and personal contacts. Even those readers for whom the pamphlet contains nothing new will profit from an analysis so concisely and skilfully presented. To the average citizen, English or French, it might be a revelation—if only some way could be found to make him ponder upon it.

ARCHIVES, LIBRARIES, AND MUSEUMS

Art Historical and Scientific Association, Vancouver City Museum. A great deal of material was presented to the Museum during the year including the Edith M. Clark collection of Chinese antiques, a number of historical paintings, a collection of sundry material of the early days of Barkerville, B.C., and the Margory Wade collection including rare items from the Haida and Kwakiutl people of the north-west coast. Particulars are contained in the annual report of the secretary and curator of the Museum, Mr. T. P. O. Menzies.

La Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, 1700 St. Denis St., Montreal 18, formerly organized as the semi-official library of the University of Montreal, was unfortunately closed at the time the University moved its premises from the Rue St-Denis to Boulevard Mont-Royal. It became, in 1941, a provincial government owned institution. Reopened to the public in January, 1944, it has since accommodated a growing number of visitors, research workers, and students amounting in 1946 to 50,978.

It is staffed with twenty-nine employees, in all. It has retained its former character of a reference library, books not being circulated outside of the limited

circle of students, professors, researchers, writers, etc. Although organized primarily as a general library, the emphasis is now on its general reference books and on philosophy, social sciences, philology, fine arts, literature, and history. Its collection of Canadian history, one of the most considerable in Canada, gathered by its founder, the late Dr. Aegidius Fauteux, has been happily continued. The volumes in the library at present total some 150,000. The librarian is M. Jean-Jacques Lefebvre.

The Boston Athenaeum has added to its early holdings two items of seventeenth-century Boston interest by the Reverend John Cotton—*The Way of Life or Gods Way and Course, in Bringing the Soule in to Keeping It in, and Carrying It on, in the Wayes of Life and Peace* (London, 1641) and *The Covenant of Gods Free Grace, Most Sweetly Unfolded . . .* (London, 1645). A *Concise Historical Account of All the British Colonies in North America, Comprehending Their Rise, Progress and Modern State, Particularly of the Massachusetts-Bay, the Seat of the Present Civil War* (Dublin, 1776) is a useful addition to the books and pamphlets relating to the American Revolution.

Chatham-Kent Museum. The Museum, officially opened on October 4, 1945, has been making favourable progress. A small lecture room in conjunction with it has been completed recently. The Museum is functioning in Chatham as a centre for the Kent Historical Society, the Kent Nature Club, and the Chatham-Kent Art Association. The attendance is averaging over 1,000 a month, including school classes, young peoples' groups, educationally interested organizations, and individual members.

Fort Ticonderoga Museum. The Museum's July, 1946 *Bulletin* reports that everything is back to normal at the Fort with the number of visitors equalling and sometimes passing the attendance of the pre-war years.

The most interesting of various recent gifts to the Museum are forty-six letters from Sir John Johnson, Bart., to his son John, and the colonial British uniform of Colonel Jacob Scheffelin, the ancestor of the well-known New York family. The July *Bulletin* contains an article on and a manuscript and letters referring to a little known episode of the American Revolution—the British raids from the north in 1780.

The Library of Congress's Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions, Volume III, May, 1946 contains an article on "The Letter of Christopher Columbus concerning the Islands of India" by Frederick R. Goff. Of the Library's numerous acquisitions, the following bear indirectly on the field of Canadian history: George Keith's remarkable *Journal of Travels from New Hampshire to Caratuck* (1706); *Thoughts on the Peace in a Letter from the Country* (London, 1783), one of a host of controversial pamphlets on the American Revolution; and Father Pierre Jean de Smet's *Mission van den Orégon en Reizen naer de Rotsbergen en de Bronnen der Colombia, der Athabasca en Sascatschawin, in 1845-46* (Ghent, 1849), a Dutch translation of the great Catholic missionary's classical work originally published in New York as *Oregon Missions and Travels over the Rocky Mountains, in 1845-46*.

The Library of the University of Virginia. Recent accessions to the manuscript collections of the University of Virginia Library include the diary of Thomas Lewis, 1746-1747, relating to the survey of the southern boundary of the Fairfax Grant in northern Virginia, and a broadside issued by twenty-five members of the House of Burgesses, Williamsburg, Virginia, May 31, 1774, calling for a con-

tinental congress and summoning a convention to meet in August to choose delegates.

The Tracy W. McGregor Library of rare Americana, which is a part of the University Library, issues occasional edited facsimile reprints of rare or unique historical items; the most recent of which is *A Proclamation for Settling the Plantation of Virginia, 1625*, published in 1946.

The New Brunswick Museum has published its *Annual Report* for 1945. The most important change in the Museum during the year has been the resignation on account of ill-health of its president, the Honourable J. B. M. Baxter, and the election of Dr. J. C. Webster to take his place.

The Natural Science Department continues to function as a bureau of information answering questions about natural science and identifying specimens. The outstanding accession of the year to this Department was the George A. Boardman Collection of birds which was transferred to the Museum from the University of New Brunswick.

The work of the Department of Canadian History has gone steadily forward. Among the 432 additions to the Webster Canadiana Library may be mentioned *A Philosophical and Political History of the British Settlements and Trade in North America* (1776) translated from the French of l'abbé Raynal; a rare first edition of Thomas Jeffreys's *The Conduct of the French with Regard to Nova Scotia...* (1754); a complete file of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (1847-1944); and an account book of Frederick Robinson, auditor-general of New Brunswick, which includes entries from 1824 to 1851. President, J. C. Webster; secretary, W. Austin Squires; treasurer, G. G. Murdock.

Royal Ontario Museum. In 1940 a Canadiana collection and a gallery in which to house it were presented to the Museum by Dr. Sigmund Samuel. An additional gift of material by Dr. Samuel which will greatly enlarge the collection and will require a new gallery has recently been announced. Among the items in the collection are original documents bearing the signatures of the kings of France and of the viceroys and intendants during the period of colonization and exploration of New France; rare prints and paintings of early scenes in Toronto, Montreal, Quebec, and other Canadian cities; paintings by Lieutenant-Colonel J. P. Cockburn, which will increase the number now on display to over one hundred; a number of Currier and Ives prints; and numerous items illustrating methods of transportation by clipper ship, steamboat, stage coach, and railroad.

The University of Western Ontario, Lawson Memorial Library continues to publish the *Western Ontario Historical Notes* and the *Western Ontario History Nuggets*. Nos. 8, 9, 10, and 11 of the *Nuggets* are "Recent Trails in Local History" by John Barnett, "Mills and Millers of Western Ontario" by B. Mabel Dunham, "The Grist Mill" by Wilfrid Jury, and "The Formative Years of the London and Port Stanley Railway" by Terry Ferris.

CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Champlain Society has issued to its members the following volumes: *Loyalist Narratives from Upper Canada* by J. J. Talman, and Volume VIII in the Hudson's Bay series entitled *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1679-1682*, edited by E. E. Rich. President, W. S. Wallace; secretaries, George de T. Glazebrook and Harold C. Walker; treasurer, George W. Brown.

The Elgin Historical Society was organized in 1891, became dormant in 1936, and has been revived again in 1946. At the reorganization meeting it was decided to find ways and means of preserving historical aspects of the Talbot Estate. The Society will consider the publication of material relating to the history of Elgin County. Honorary president, F. W. Sutherland; president, L. T. Holmes; secretary, J. C. Smith, 34 William St., St. Thomas, Ontario; treasurer, W. C. Miller.

Kent Historical Society. During the past year, the Society has been largely concerned in gathering historical material for the Chatham-Kent Museum, and in this work considerable progress has been made. The publications committee of the Society has decided to assemble material in connexion with the history of Chatham and Kent counties, and attempt to fill in the gaps later by visits to different regions. The Society is interested in securing the historic Talbot property on Lake Erie as a national park. President, J. F. Fletcher; secretary, E. M. Milner, 208 William St., Chatham, Ontario; treasurer, Walter Watts.

Lundy's Lane Historical Society. The year 1946 was a prosperous one for the Lundy's Lane Historical Society. Monthly meetings were held except during the vacation period, at which interesting papers were presented, all by society members. The highlight of these was an address on "Old Drummondville" by the honorary president, Mr. Ernest Green. The outstanding social event of the year was a dinner meeting at Chippawa in May, attended by almost forty members and friends. Visits were made to Trinity Church, the Presbyterian Church, Laura Secord's last home, and other points of local historical interest. The Society has authorized the publication of *An Account of the Battle of Lundy's Lane, Fought in 1814*, which is a reprint of an original pamphlet published in 1853. The 1947 officers of the Society are as follows: honorary president, Ernest Green; president, the Reverend Percival Mayes; secretary-treasurer, Mrs. Stanley C. Tolan, 1775 Brookfield Ave., Niagara Falls, Ontario.

The Macnab Historical Association has published *Macnab: A Brief History* by R. A. Jeffery (see the "List of Recent Publications," p. 98). Janet A. Morse, author and lecturer, recently gave the first of a series of illustrated talks on "Canadian Women Writers" at the Carnegie Public Library, Ottawa, under the auspices of the Cultural Relation Committee of the Macnab Historical Association. President, William Macnab Box; secretary, Hilda M. Ridley, P.O. Box 155, Foleyet, Ontario.

The Ontario Historical Society has published Volume XXXVII of its *Papers and Records* for 1945. The articles are listed in the "List of Recent Publications."

The Upper Canada Railway Society. 1946 has been a year of considerable growth for the Upper Canada Railway Society. It now has over seventy-five members. Through the courtesy of the Toronto Terminals Railway its meetings are now held regularly on the third Friday of the month in Room 486, Union Station, Toronto.

Three bulletins, nos. 19, 20, and 21, have been issued during the year, the latest bulletin no. 21 being the most ambitious publication to date. Production of the monthly news letter has been continued. Address: Box 122, Terminal "A," Toronto.

